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ABSTRACT

This volume contains all of the material published in American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) News Research Bulletins during 1968. The 49 studies included are arranged under the following chapter titles: "Some Audience Characteristics," "Headlines and Makeup," "Content," "Some Communication Behavior," "Readership," "Readership by Teenagers," "Editorial Administration and Personnel," "What the Public Thinks of Its Newspapers," and "Miscellaneous." Six of the studies reported are from a new area of research, the Negro reader. A note at the beginning of each chapter cites research about the same subject matter reported in previous volumes. (TO)

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NEWS RESEARCH FOR BETTER NEWSPAPERS VOLUME 4

Compiled and edited by

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INTRODUCTION

The very high utilization of the research data in volumes One to Three of "News Research For Better Newspapers" has prompted publication of Volume Four—this volume—containing all of the material published in ANPA News Research Bulletins during 1968. (Almost 5,000 copies of Volume I, issued in 1966, have been purchased.)

Data from a new area of research are reported for the first time, viz., the Negro reader. Five of the studies describe Negroes' communication behavior and one reports Negroes' evaluation of a newspaper's racial fairness. The ANPA News Research Center has commissioned a parallel readership study of Negro and white adult readers which should be forthcoming in the early part of 1969.

As the first study in Chapter 4 ("Negroes' Use of the Media") shows, 73% of Negro adults outside of the South read a newspaper "yesterday" as compared with 83% of white adults.

Three of the studies reported in this volume were sponsored by ANPA; one was sponsored by the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA. Individual newspapers did six of the 49 studies, and university researchers 21. Additional research projects have been commissioned for 1969.

A note at the beginning of each chapter cites research about the same subject matter reported in previous volumes.

Chilton R. Bush

American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation
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(Numbers in parentheses refer to 1968 News Research Bulletins carrying the material indicated.)

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Chapter 1

SOME AUDIENCE CHARACTERISTICS

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 21-35, Vol. 2, pp. 7-28, and Vol. 3, pp. 48-51.

How People Use Their Leisure

A national study shows that the average urban employed man has 4 hours of "free time" on a typical weekday and the average unemployed woman has 5 hours and 36 minutes.

On Sunday the average employed man has 8 hours and 24 minutes of free time and the average unemployed woman has 8 hours and 12 minutes.

The average man devotes 2 hours and 12 minutes to the mass media on a weekday and 4 hours on Sunday. The average unemployed woman devotes 2 hours and 24 minutes to the mass media on a weekday and 2 hours and 54 minutes on Sunday.

The average man reads for 36 minutes on a weekday and for one hour on Sunday. The unemployed woman reads 30 minutes on a weekday and 48 minutes on Sunday.

Newspaper reading accounts for 7% of the free time of both men and women over the seven-day week.

This data is for "primary" activities. But people sometimes engage in two activities simultaneously, and one of them is considered a "secondary" activity. For all persons in the sample, 90% of radio listening was a "secondary" activity. The same figure for reading and for television viewing was 30%.

The first national study of urban adult peoples' time-budgets done on a scientifically-designed sample was carried out in March-April, 1965.

The study was done by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, under the direction of Professors John P. Robinson and Philip E. Converse, in connection with a series of similar studies in 11 other countries.

A total of 1,244 men and women in 44 urban cities of more than 50,000 population recorded their activities for one day—from midnight to midnight. This diary-keeping was spread about equally over each of the seven days of the week.

Table 1 shows the major daily activities of all urban adult men and women in the United States for a seven-day week. The data represent an average. The sample included the unemployed (4% of the men and 51% of the women) as well as the employed.

Only one of the types of activities is broken down, viz., time spent with the mass media. Reading includes books and magazines as well as newspapers.

The data for time spent with the mass media is lower than that which previously has been reported. The main reason is that the activities reported here are "primary" activities, as will be explained below.

TABLE 1.

DAILY ACTIVITIES OF ALL MEN AND ALL WOMEN DURING 7 DAYS (HOURS AND MINUTES)

Activities:	Men	Women
Sleeping	7 hrs., 36 mins.	7 hrs., 36 mins.
Work and work-related	7 hrs., 12 mins.	2 hrs., 42 mins.
Housework	36 mins.	4 hrs.
Family tasks*	1 hr., 18 mins.	2 hrs., 12 mins.
Personal care**	2 hrs., 30 mins.	2 hrs., 48 mins.
Education, organizations	30 mins.	24 mins.
Leisure***	1 hr., 48 mins.	2 hrs., 24 mins.
Mass media	2 hrs., 30 mins.	1 hr., 54 mins.
Radio	(6 mins.)	(a)
Television	(1 hr., 42 mins.)	(1 hr., 24 mins.)
Reading	(42 mins.)	(30 mins.)
Free time	5 hrs.	5 hrs., 6 mins.

*Includes child care, nonwork trips.
**Includes eating, resting, bathing, dressing, etc.
***Includes conversation, walking, sports, social life, amusements, etc.
(a)Less than 6 mins.

Primary and Secondary Activities

Since people sometimes engage in more than one activity at the same time, the researchers asked this question with reference to each activity: "Were you doing anything else while you were doing (such and such)?" When simultaneous activities were reported they were considered to be either "primary" or "secondary" and a portion of the total time was allocated to each of the two activities mentioned. Thus, if a respondent reported one hour of television viewing while eating, half an hour of each was recorded.

The time reported in the tables, therefore, represents only "primary" activities. For example, thirty per cent of total television viewing (130 minutes) for the average person was recorded as "secondary" (i.e., assigned to some other activity as "primary"), leaving 90 minutes as a "primary" activity.

Nielsen's recent figure, after being adjusted for the "younger, urban and working character" of the Survey Research Center's sample, was 190 minutes. The adjusted Nielsen figure is still one hour more than was found by the Survey Research Center. The researchers admit that to

some extent some of the respondents could have underestimated their television viewing for the reason of prestige.

(There is great variation in the amount of TV viewing per day reported by various researchers. Thus: Sindlinger in 1958 reported about 2 hours; a study sponsored by Mutual Broadcasting Company in 1962 reported just over 2 hours; the Michigan Survey Research Center in 1958, close to 3.5 hours; Louis Harris in 1966, about 2 hours.)

As to other media, 90% of radio listening was done as a "secondary" activity and 30% of reading (the same as for television).

Reading, before adjustment for a "secondary" activity, (e.g., eating), was divided as follows: 30 minutes for newspapers and 20 minutes for magazines and books. This gross figure reported for newspapers is only slightly less than the time estimated by respondents in numerous field studies for weekday reading **by subscribers.** Since the Survey Research Center's sample was of the whole urban population it probably contains a certain percentage of nonreaders of newspapers.

When time devoted to the mass media and to "leisure" activities are combined, it will be noted that the average woman has available about the same amount of such time as the average man—about 5 hours a day. The man, however, allocates more of this combined time to the mass media and the woman allocates more to the "leisure" activities.

Amount of "Free Time"

Table 2 shows the amount of daily "free time" available to the average employed man and unemployed woman. It is a little more than one-fifth of the day when the total "free time" is spread over seven days. This is considerably less than the oft-stated eight hours for weekdays.

TABLE 2.

AMOUNT OF DAILY "FREE TIME" OF SEVERAL TYPES OF ADULTS DURING 7 DAYS (HOURS AND MINUTES)

	Men	Women
All	5 hrs.	5 hrs., 6 mins.
Employed	4 hrs., 48 mins.	4 hrs., 12 mins.
Unemployed	8 hrs., 54 mins.	5 hrs., 54 mins.
Married, employed	4 hrs., 48 mins.	3 hrs., 54 mins.
Single, employed	5 hrs., 6 mins.	4 hrs., 48 mins.
Married, unemployed	9 hrs.	5 hrs., 54 mins.
Single, unemployed	8 hrs., 36 mins.	6 hrs., 24 mins.

The unemployed married woman has about one hour more "free time" than the employed married man and two hours more than the employed married woman.

When the mass media behavior of both sexes combined was analyzed as a percentage of total "free time" it was found that newspaper reading accounted for 7% of all "free time"; magazine and book reading for 2% each; and radio listening for 1%. In contrast, men allocated 34% of their "free time" to watching television and women allocated 28%. (These percentages are not shown in the tables).

Thursday vs. Sunday

Tables 1 and 2 have been presented for the whole week, and most of the discussion in this summary is with reference to the whole week. The data can be better understood, however, when we compare Sunday and a typical weekday. Table 3 reports time-budgets for Thursday and Sunday for employed men (96% of the men's sample) and unemployed women (51% of the women's sample).

TABLE 3.

TIME-BUDGETS OF EMPLOYED MEN AND UNEMPLOYED WOMEN ON THURSDAY AND SUNDAY

	Thursday	Sunday
Employed men:		
Work related	9 hrs.	1 hr., 48 mins.
House work	18 mins.	1 hr., 12 mins.
Sleeping	7 hrs., 24 mins.	8 hrs., 48 mins.
Personal care	2 hrs., 18 mins.	2 hrs., 36 mins.
Family tasks	1 hr., 12 mins.	1 hr., 36 mins.
Education, organizations	12 mins.	36 mins.
Mass media	2 hrs., 12 mins.	4 hrs.
Radio	(6 mins.)	(6 mins.)
Television	(1 hr., 30 mins.)	(3 hrs.)
Reading	(36 mins.)	(1 hr.)
Leisure	1 hr., 6 mins.	3 hrs., 18 mins.
Free time	4 hrs.	8 hrs., 24 mins.
Unemployed women:		
Work related	12 mins.	none
House work	5 hrs., 12 mins.	3 hrs., 12 mins.
Sleeping	7 hrs., 42 mins.	8 hrs., 18 mins.
Personal care	2 hrs., 48 mins.	2 hrs., 48 mins.
Family tasks	2 hrs., 48 mins.	2 hrs.
Education, organizations	24 mins.	1 hr.
Mass media	2 hrs., 24 mins.	2 hrs., 54 mins.
Radio	(0)	(6 mins.)
Television	(1 hr., 54 mins.)	(2 hrs.)
Reading	(30 mins.)	(48 mins.)
Leisure	2 hrs., 30 mins.	3 hrs., 42 mins.
Free time	5 hrs., 36 mins.	8 hrs., 12 mins.

It will be noted that the employed man sleeps longer on Sunday than on a weekday, spends a little more time on "education and organizations" (which includes church attendance), spends almost two hours more with the mass

media and devotes much more time to "leisure" (visiting, walking, conversation, sports, etc.). He has 4 hours and 24 minutes more "free time." He doubles the time for viewing television and almost doubles the time for reading.

The unemployed woman also sleeps longer on Sunday and devotes considerably less time to housework and family tasks. She devotes somewhat more time to "education and organizations" and to the mass media and more than an extra hour to "leisure." She has 2 hours and 36 minutes more "free time" on Sunday. She increases the time she devotes to viewing television by only 6 minutes and to reading by 18 minutes.

One of the great advantages to be derived from this data (although it represents averages) is the demonstration of the extent to which one's pattern of daily living determines the amount of time he can devote to the mass media. Some things just have to be done and some of them at a specific time. So the consumer of the mass media has to adjust his time for reading, for example, to the specific time slots that are available—after the dishes are done, after the shopping is done, before or after a certain television program, between the bridge party and the time to prepare dinner, etc., etc.

These averages do not fit every individual, of course, because individuals' "free time" and specific time slots differ. Also, mass media behavior is determined by the individual's interests, and these vary considerably.

Houses vs. Apartments

The study showed some differences between people who live in houses and people who live in apartments. Both employed men and unemployed women who live in apartments have more free time than do those who live in houses.

Unemployed women living in apartments allocate more time to consumption of the mass media. They also devote more time to watching TV but the same amount of time to reading.

Employed men living in apartments do not allocate more time to consumption of the mass media than do those who live in houses. But they do more reading and less TV watching than do employed men living in houses.

The Nature of Leisure

Table 4 compares the time-budgets of the average white collar man and the average housewife. In the table, the authors have transposed "eating" from the non-leisure to the leisure classification. As was true of the previous tables,

these are "primary" activities. The table shows that the housewife has more than one hour more leisure than the white collar man, and most of the difference is accounted for by "visiting" as an activity.

TABLE 4.

DAILY LEISURE AND NON-LEISURE ACTIVITIES OF WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYED MEN AND OF HOUSEWIVES OVER SEVEN DAYS (HOURS AND MINUTES)

	White Collar Men	Housewives
Non-leisure (Hours):		
Sleeping	7 hrs., 36 mins.	7 hrs., 30 mins.
Work for pay	7 hrs., 12 mins.	12 mins.
Care of self	1 hr.	1 hr., 18 mins.
Transportation	1 hr., 30 mins.	1 hr.
Household, children	36 mins.	6 hrs., 12 mins.
Shopping	18 mins.	42 mins.
Total work related activities	18 hrs., 24 mins.	16 hrs., 54 mins.
Leisure (minutes):		
Eating	73	79
Visiting	74	138
Entertainment	13	10
Sports	12	2
Motoring	2	3
Clubs	8	12
Reading	36	40
Radio	4	2
Television	75	75
Miscellaneous	51	65
Total leisure minutes	348	426
Total leisure hours	5 hrs., 48 mins.	7 hrs., 6 mins.

The Impact of Television

Table 5 shows the amount of time allocated to television viewing and to reading by men of different occupations. Men in technical occupations (only 3.3% of the sample) allocate less time to television viewing than do unskilled men and about the same amount of time to reading as do unskilled men.

The authors suggest that television viewing is approaching the saturation point. They point out that no adequate study has been made of the motivation of the television viewer to find out the extent to which he is seeking a specific gratification or is just killing time by looking at the tube. So they asked this question: "Were there any times yesterday that you would have liked to watch TV, but didn't because there weren't any programs worth watching at that time?" Only 10% of the sample answered yes, including only 12% of the college-educated people in the sample.

These responses led the investigators to suggest that television may be reaching its maximum audience: the audience can't take any more even in prime viewing time. They also suggest that improvement of programming (e.g. by Public Broadcast Laboratories) would not increase viewing but would merely supply a more satisfactory choice of programs.

TABLE 5

MINUTES OF DAILY TELEVISION VIEWING AND READING BY MEN OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS DURING 7 DAYS*

	TV Viewing	Reading
Unskilled	162	24
Semiskilled	114	36
Technical	60	24
Low white collar	96	36
High white collar	96	36
Professional	78	48

*The data on radio listening is not statistically significant

Reading

This survey made only a slight effort to study reading in depth. Some of the measures, however, are presented in Table 6, which compares college-educated people with people who had not finished high school.

Since newspaper reading is reported as a "primary" activity for the seven-day period, the **total** reading time for the college-educated would be 47 minutes and for the "did not finish high school" group 37 minutes. As mentioned previously, some nonreaders of newspapers were doubtless included in this sample.

TABLE 6.

SOME DATA ON READING OVER 7 DAYS: BY EDUCATION

	College Educated	Did Not Finish High School
Time spent on newspapers (minutes)	33	26
Newspapers as pct. of all reading	48.0%	80.0%
Read "yesterday":		
Serious books	5.8%	0.9%
Analytical commentary mags.	2.3%	0
News, business mags.	8.2%	1.5%
Pictorial, gen'l interest mags.	10.5%	3.6%
Newspaper part read closest:		
Editorials	15.0%	7.0%
General news	58.0%	35.0%
Nat'l, int'l news	9.0%	6.0%

Comparison With Earlier Studies

Although several similar time-budget studies have been done, none is comparable to this one, which was done on a scientifically-designed sample of the whole urban population. Yet some of the data in the earlier studies have led the present researchers to make certain inferences.

1. Time devoted to shopping is more than it was some years ago. The researchers cite transportation studies done in the Detroit area in 1953 and 1965, which show a 40% increase in the percentage of all trips taken for the purpose of shopping.
2. "It is safe to conclude that Americans are spending more time, perhaps up to 50 minutes, away from home than they did ten years ago."
3. Possession of more household appliances does not mean less time is spent on housework by their owners.
4. Radio has been the main casualty of television. Movies and reading books and magazines are the next hardest hit, with newspaper reading being affected "very little."

Effect of a Shorter Workweek

Studies of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (1960) and similar studies have reported data on how people spend their leisure, and some have projected an average shorter workweek in the future. For example, 36.6 hours in 1976 and 30.5 hours in the year 2000.

Because the average workweek has declined from 69.8 hours in 1850 to about 40 hours in recent years, some writers have predicted that the (predicted) future increase in free time will result in more time being devoted to reading (as distinguished from alternative uses of "free time"). There is no evidence to support such a forecast. There is reason to believe, however, that the amount of reading will increase because of a better-educated population, not necessarily because people will have more "free time."

(John P. Robinson and Philip E. Converse, 66 Basic Tables of Time-Budget Data for the United States, 1966; same, The American Behavioral Scientist, Dec., 1966, Appendix; John P. Robinson, The Impact of Television on Mass Media Usage: A Cross-National Comparison, paper read at the Sixth World Congress of Sociology, Evian, France, 1966; same, Social Change as Measured by Time-Budgets, paper read at the meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1967; same, Television and Leisure Time: Yesterday, Today and (Maybe) Tomorrow, paper read at the meeting of the American Association of Public Opinion Research, 1967; Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Study No. 23, 1960.)

Men and Women Readers: Are They Very Different?

A reanalysis of some old data shows that readership of the newspaper by men and women does not differ as much as a casual inspection of readership scores suggests.

In 1955, Swanson published an analysis of the readership scores in 130 newspapers for which readership studies had been made by the Advertising Research Foundation between 1939 and 1950.

The studies included 40,158 items. Circulations of the newspapers ranged from 8,570 to 635,346. More than one-half of the studies were done during World War II, although war news accounted for only 8% of the total readership.

Swanson found that the average score for all items was 20%.

He did not compute a correlation coefficient for men's and women's scores. However, it is .60 (a perfect correlation is 1.0).

But when three categories of news of special interest are excluded, the coefficient is .82, which is very high. The three categories are: sports, "home and family," and "social relations." (The latter two categories were not defined).

Table 1 presents the scores for all categories after women's scores have been converted to index numbers to compare them with men's scores. Thus, for sports, women's scores are 23% of men's scores and, for "home and family," are 560% of men's scores.

TABLE 1.

WOMEN'S READERSHIP SCORES CONVERTED TO INDEX NUMBERS

(100=Men's Scores for each category)

	Index Number		Index Number
Sports	23	Leisure activities	95
Finance	50	Comics	98
Taxes	67	Unclassified	100
Political int'l relations	67	Consumer information	100
Labor	68	Accidents	100
State government	69	Weather	107
Politics	70	Human interest	111
National government	71	Education	112
War	77	Health	115
Econ. social int'l relations	77	Individual	116
Loyalty investigations	78	Religion	118
Business, industry	78	Entertainment features	120
Agriculture	78	Country correspondence	122
Science, invention	79	Private benevolence, charity	127
Local government	81	Popular art, music, lit.	139
Minor crimes	84	Vital statistics	141
Defense	87	Fine arts, music, lit.	150
Social significance	91	Social relations	200
Major crimes	92	Home, family	560
Fire, disaster	93		
Civil, judicial affairs	94		

It will be noted that, for about one-half of the 40 categories, men's and women's scores differ by no more than 20% (80 to 120). These 19 categories account for 46% of the total readership. In three of the categories the scores are exactly the same.

Although the scores are quite old and much of the subject-matter was published during a world war, they nevertheless suggest that the reading behavior of men and women does not vary greatly when we exclude three kinds of news of special interest.

(C. E. Swanson, "What They Read in 130 Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 32:411-421, 1955).

Today's Young Mother Is Oriented Toward Her Family, Not Outward

A 1968 study by the Pillsbury Co., Minneapolis, Minn. found that the typical 20-to-30 year-old mother of today orients herself toward her own family to a much greater extent than she did 10 years ago.

Ten years ago, the company conducted a similar study and found that the typical young married woman of that era was "very much oriented toward social activities and interest in other groups.

"She was highly mobile, busy and active, but these were all expressions of interaction with other groups such as PTA, Boy Scouts, group membership and the like. She could be visualized in a panelled station wagon hurrying to and from her house. Her view was outward from her home and her aspirations were for affluence and social status."

The 1968 Young Mother

The 1968 study, however, shows that the young mother "turns sharply inward to her own family . . . She completely discards—on the day of her marriage—all relevance to the teenage swing set, and on the other hand does not seek out the roles and models upheld by the former group. . . .

"She seeks a great companionship of genuineness and warmth with her husband and her family and she tries to build within that framework a range of activities and interests that compensate for any sense of loss from having no access to other routes."

She Will Continue to Shop in Stores

Despite the advantages offered by the computer age, the study says, the young married mother will continue to shop in stores. This is because the process of shopping provides certain avenues of social experience.

The in-depth interviews were made in both big cities and small towns and included psychological testing. The Pillsbury Co. plans to modify its approach to marketing, new product development and communications to correspond more closely to the findings of the study.

(Address by A. L. Powell, director of communications, The Pillsbury Co., 1968)

Educational Attainment, 1970-1975

The educational attainment of persons over 25 years of age was recently projected to 1970 and 1975 by the United States Bureau of the Census.

One prediction is that the average (median) number of years completed in school will increase from 11.8 years in 1965 (the latest figure) to 12.4 or 12.5 years in 1975. As time goes on, the older less educated people in the population are replaced by younger people with greater amounts of education.

The distribution of the projection on one assumption is as follows (the differences are very slight on a second assumption):

Number years completed:	1964-66*	1970	1975
None	1.8%	1.3%	1.0%
Elementary			
1-4 years	5.0	4.1	3.2
5-7 years	10.8	9.2	7.6
8 years	15.5	13.3	11.1
High school			
1-3 years	18.1	18.2	17.9
4 years	30.6	33.6	36.7
College			
1-3 years	8.9	9.6	10.4
4 or more years	9.5	10.6	12.5

*An average of the three years

A difference between males and females 25 years and older is shown in the following table which reports the projected percentage in the population with four or more years of college:

	1964-66	1975
Males	12.1%	15.2%
Females	7.1	9.3

(U.S. Bureau of the Census, Projections of Educational Attainment, 1970 to 1975. Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 390. March 29, 1968)

Readers Are Hard to Reach (Cartoons—I)

Carl, in the autumn of 1966, showed 38 editorial cartoons to three samples of readers and asked what the cartoons meant. Previously, he had obtained from the cartoonists the intended meaning of each cartoon.

The samples were randomly-selected readers in two small towns (Candor, N.Y. and Canton, Pa.) and Ithaca, N.Y., seat of Cornell University.

The cartoons were by 18 cartoonists and were selected from 19 newspapers published in large cities. Interviewing was done very soon after publication of the cartoons while the subject-matter of the cartoons was still "live."

The accompanying table shows the extent to which the readers and the cartoonists agreed as to the meaning of the cartoons.

Small towns:		Ithaca:	
Agree	15%	Agree	22%
Partly agree	15	Partly agree	15
Completely disagree	70	Completely disagree	63

For one cartoon—about African tribalism—only 9% of the readers agreed with the cartoonist's intended meaning. Several cartoons which attacked racists were perceived as pro-segregationist. He found little agreement as to whether a cartoon advocated a Democratic viewpoint or a Republican viewpoint.

Carl listed several possible explanations for the inability of readers to perceive the cartoonists' meaning: ability to perceive details, ethnic background, environment, psychological set, knowledge of current events and history, ability to see analogies, knowledge of allegories.

But, he says, the "fault" lies not only with the audience. He suggests that cartoonists are often unaware of the communication barriers between them and their readers.

(L. M. Carl, "Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers," Journalism Quarterly, 45:533-35, 1968.)

Readers Are Hard to Reach (Cartoons—II)

It would seem that prejudiced persons involuntarily exposed to anti-prejudice propaganda would either fight it or give into it. But some people are unwilling to do either: they refuse to face the implications of the message and evade the issue psychologically by simply not understanding the meaning of (say) a cartoon.

Cooper and Jahoda, in the 1940s, did a series of studies of prejudice, using cartoons. One series was of an absurd character called "Mr. Biggott." The caption explicitly said it

was ridiculous for the character to have certain ideas. Subjects who were prejudiced understood the cartoon initially but went to great lengths to extricate themselves from an identification with "Mr. Biggott." They did this by **misunderstanding the point of the cartoon.**

One cartoon, for example, showed "Mr. Biggott" lying in a hospital bed with a doctor in attendance and with "Mr. Biggott" saying that for his blood transfusion he wanted only "sixth generation American blood."

Prejudiced subjects, in interviews, admitted that they thought the idea was absurd but downgraded "Mr. Biggott" as socially inferior and probably not having "the best blood either." When asked about the cartoonist's intention, one evasive reply was "to get the viewpoint of people to see if they coincide with the artist's idea of character and all. Some would and some would differ."

Imposing One's Own Frame of Reference

A second cartoon showed a Congressman who had a native Fascist philosophy interviewing an applicant in his office. The applicant had brought a letter of recommendation saying he had been in jail, had smashed windows and had started race riots. The Congressman is pleased and says, "Of course, I can use you in my new party."

Prejudiced persons exposed to the cartoon evaded the issue by **imposing their own frame of reference.** Some of the interpretations brought out in interviews: "It might be a new labor party." "He is starting a Communist party." "It is a Jewish party that would help the Jews get more power."

The authors say this about cartoons: evasion is facilitated when the message is subtle or satirical; for prejudiced persons the message needs to be simplier and more straightforward. However, the subtle and the satirical may be appropriate for neutrals and for inactive sympathizers of the anti-prejudice message: such persons when tested did not show evidence of a tendency to evade the message. The emotional impact of the satirical may make them stronger supporters.

Predisposition Affects Interpretation

Several studies have shown that, for some persons, their interpretation of a communicated message is distorted by their motives, wishes and attitudes. For example, the National Opinion Research Center, in 1946, asked a national sample, "Do you think the newspapers you read generally make Russia look better or worse than she really is?" Another question was "In the disagreements between Russia and the United States, do you think one of the countries is entirely to blame, or do you think both countries have something to do with the misunderstanding?"

Fifty-four per cent of those who blamed the United States entirely or blamed both countries (27% of those interviewed) said their newspapers made Russia look worse as compared with 41 per cent who blamed Russia alone.

(E. Cooper and M. Jahoda, "The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-prejudice Propaganda," Journal of Psychology, 23: 15-25, 1947; H. H. Hyman and P. B. Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," Public Opinion Quarterly, 11: 413-423, 1947)

Readers Are Hard to Reach (Selective Exposure)

Several studies have shown that a good many people tend to avoid information and arguments that are in conflict with their predispositions. A few examples:

When Cannell and MacDonald, in 1954, asked a probability sample of adults in Ann Arbor, Mich. "How often do you read health or science articles?" the results were as follows (There are fewer female than male smokers):

	Men		Women	
	Smokers	Nonsmokers	Smokers	Nonsmokers
Almost always	32%	60%	59%	69%
Occasionally	54	29	37	26
Seldom or never	14	11	4	5

They also asked this question: "From what you have read about smoking and health, how well proved do you think these statements are?" (about association of lung cancer deaths and smoking). The results are in Table 2.

Table 2

	Smokers	Nonsmokers
Accept	28%	54%
Do not accept	70	38
Don't know, not ascertained	2	8

(Avoidance of exposure to evidence is not the same, however, as exposure to news about a threat in the environment. Some of the best read news stories are of the latter character: see "News Research for Better Newspapers, Vol. 3, pp. 20-233).

Who Views a Political Telethon?

Schramm and Carter, in 1958, asked a sample of San Franciscans whether or not they had viewed a 20-hour TV telethon by a Republican candidate for governor. They found that Republicans were twice as likely to have viewed it as were Democrats. They also found that the average Republican viewer looked at the telethon for 2 hours and 33 minutes as compared with 1 hour and 28 minutes by Democrats.

Their conclusion: "voters tend to expose themselves to media in order to reinforce their predispositions and reduce the [psychological discomfort] resulting from challenge to those predispositions, rather than to see what the other side has to offer."

Why Information Campaigns Fail

Prior to a campaign in 1947 by two organizations in Cincinnati to disseminate information (not propaganda) about the United Nations, the National Opinion Research Center made a survey of local opinion and attitudes about the UN. The results suggested that the target for the massive campaign should be those classes of people who had been found to be most in need of enlightenment rather than those who were interested and already informed. This was done: a great amount of "ingeniously-developed" material was circulated over a six-month period.

However, a survey made immediately after the campaign had ended showed that the materials had added nothing to the knowledge of the people at whom it was aimed (e.g., women, the relatively uneducated, the elderly and the poor). The people who had been reached were predominantly men, the better educated and the young.

The conclusion of the authors was that, since lack of interest is a psychological barrier to the spread of information, one who wishes to inform must first create the interest. This finding may have implication for Newspaper in the Classroom programs.

The "Know-nothings"

In 1947 in a national study, Hyman and Sheatsley found a "hard core" of "know-nothings." When they were tested as to their knowledge of four contemporary events it was found that most of those who were not aware of one event were not aware of the other events (e.g., the Acheson-Lilienthal report on atomic energy).

The authors concluded: "There is something about the uninformed which makes them harder to reach no matter what the level or nature of the information."

(C. F. Cannell and J. C. MacDonald, "The Impact of Health News on Attitudes and Behavior," Journalism Quarterly, 33:315-323, 1956; W. Schramm and R. F. Carter, "Effectiveness of a Political Telethon," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23:121-126, 1959; S. A. Star and H. M. Hughes, "Report on an Educational Campaign: The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations," American Journal of Sociology, 55:389-400, 1950; H. H. Hyman and P. B. Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," Public Opinion Quarterly, 11:413-423, 1947)

Projected Median Age for 1985

The median age of the population on July 1 was 27.7 years. That is, one-half of the population was above and one-half was below 27.7 years.

In 1966, the median age was 27.8 years—for nonwhite persons 21.4 years and for whites 28.7 years.

A recent computation by the U.S. Bureau of the Census projects the median age of the total population in 1985 to 25.6 years if there should be a high level of births during the projection period. If there should be a low level of births, the median age would be 29.5 years.

The highest level assumes that an average of 3.35 children per woman will be born, and the lowest that 2.45 children will be born.

For nonwhite persons, the median age in 1985 could range from 19 years to 25 years and for white persons from 27 to 30 years. A higher level of births for nonwhite persons is expected to persist over the projection period.
(U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 388, March 14, 1968)

The Audience for Financial News, 1968

The New York Stock Exchange, in January, estimated that 24 million persons now own stocks in a corporation or an investment company. This is 12% of the population. About 51% are females.

The proportion of adult shareholders now approaches 1 in 5.

The rate of growth of shareholders since 1965 has been about six times the percentage increase in population—an average gain of 1.3 million new shareholders a year.

Data for prior years show how the number of shareholders has grown since 1952:

	Number (Millions)	Pct. of Pop.
1952	6.5	4
1956	8.6	5
1959	12.5	7
1962	17.0	9
1965	20.1	10
1968	24.0	12

The last complete census of shareholders reported by the exchange in 1965 found that 6.5% of all shareholders were minors. That census also reported that 13.3% of shareholders owned only shares in investment companies, and that the average investor holds between three and four different stock issues.

The next comprehensive shareowner census is planned by the exchange for 1970. It will report a breakdown by income, education, geographic region and other characteristics.

(New York Stock Exchange, press release, Jan. 17, 1968.)

How Much Do Readers Know? (Geography)

That a good many members of the adult public are unfamilar with the "where" of an event has been shown by Gallup polls.

Gallup presented an outline map of Europe to a national sample in 1955 and asked the respondents to identify eight of the individual countries. Twenty-three per cent identified none of them. The average correct identification was three of the eight.

The results were as follows:

England	65%	Austria	19%
France	63	Yugoslavia	16
Spain	57	Rumania	11
Poland	32	Bulgaria	10
None of them	23		

When he asked the same questions in 1947, 72% identified Italy.

Gallup also tested his sample in the same way about ten states of the Union. The results were as follows:

California	82%	Ohio	46%
Texas	82	Michigan	45
Pennsylvania	59	New Jersey	45
New York	58	Massachusetts	43
Illinois	50	Missouri	43

How Much Do Readers Know? (Proximity)

A textbook explains "proximity" as a factor in reader interest in terms of the extent to which a reader identifies with a particular place.

Carter and Mitofsky, in 1961, tested the hypothesis that geography students in a southern university would perceive southern cities as closer than equally distant cities in other regions.

From datelines appearing in North Carolina newspapers, they set up 24 matched pairs of southern and northern cities, each pair being the same distance from Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina. The average distance was 575 miles. But the distances perceived by the students were as follows:

Southern cities	491 miles
Northern cities	630 miles

For 22 of the 24 pairs, the southern city was perceived as closer to Chapel Hill. This held for both well known metropolitan cities and for smaller cities. Although Atlanta and Philadelphia are approximately the same distance from Chapel Hill, the average judged distance for Atlanta was 108 miles closer.

Dateline cities which the subjects had visited were not perceived as closer than cities they had not visited, nor were they judged with any greater accuracy.

(R. E. Carter, Jr., and W. J. Mitofsky, "Actual and Perceived Distances in the News," Journalism Quarterly, 38:223-225, 1961)

How Much Do Readers Know? (Historical Persons)

The Gallup Poll, in 1955, asked a nationwide sample to identify ten historical personalities. The results were as follows:

	Men	Women
Columbus	90%	89%
Shakespeare	78	80
Napoleon	73	60
Beethoven	62	66
Karl Marx	39	26
Aristotle	33	34
Raphael	30	32
Leo Tolstoy	24	23
Freud	22	21
Rubens	15	15
Average	47	45

The average identification of the same personalities by a nationwide sample in Great Britain was men 59% and women 51%.

How Much Do Readers Know? (Bill of Rights)

The National Opinion Research Center asked this question of a national sample in 1945: "What do you know about the Bill of Rights? Do you know anything it says?" Correct answers were 21% of the sample.

The American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) asked this question in 1954: "What are the first ten amendments in the Constitution called?" Correct answers were 33%.

How Much Do Readers Know? (Open Housing and the Pill)

In March 1967, the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) asked this question: "In your own words, what is 'open housing'—what does the term mean?" Fifty-eight

per cent of the respondents gave a satisfactory answer and 42% could not.

When Gallup, in January 1967, asked respondents whether or not The Pill was (1) effective and (2) safe, the don't know answers were 32% for (1) and 31% for (2).

How Much Do Readers Remember?

A few days after the assassination of President Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, a national survey asked respondents to name the other Presidents who had been assassinated. The same question was asked 19 months later (June, 1965). The responses were as follows:

	Nov. 1963	June, 1965
All three	37%	16%
Lincoln alone	22	41
Lincoln and one other	31	30
Garfield or McKinley	2	2
None	8	11

One interpretation: Since most respondents learned about Lincoln's assassination in school and about the others from the mass media, the additional bits of information acquired in November, 1963 were forgotten.

(Wilbur Schramm and Serena Wade, "Knowledge and the Public Mind." Report to the U.S. Office of Education, 1967)

Chapter 2

HEADLINES AND MAKEUP

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 76-89, Vol. 2, pp. 65-75, 102-105, and Vol. 3, pp. 1-19.

Perception of Headlines

This summary does not prescribe rules for writing headlines, but it reports some of the evidence of experimental psychology about how readers unconsciously perceive headlines, viz., that readers' psychological needs facilitate their perception of certain words.

Experimental psychology offers a good deal of evidence to demonstrate that we unconsciously select what we see in terms of our psychological needs and tend to screen out what we don't want to see.

Leo Bogart ("The Strategy of Advertising," 1967), in discussing advertisements, cites a psychologist who suggests that the eye movements of a reader may actually be "anticipations" rather than "responses" to stimuli; that the eyes are "searching" in terms of the individual's interests somewhat like the trained reader for a news clipping service with several clients.

Bruner and Goodman, in 1947, found that a group of "poor" children overestimated the size of coins more than did a group of "rich" children. A replication of the experiment obtained different results, but the theory led Deutschmann, in 1956, to compare the number of headline words perceived by subjects who had high interest in a certain news subject matter with subjects who had low interest in the same news subject-matter.

After testing subjects for their interest in certain subject-matter, he determined the threshold of perception for each of the individual subjects; the thresholds varied from one-fiftieth to one-half of a second.

Next, he flashed headlines on a screen for the fraction of a second which corresponded to each individual's threshold and the subjects wrote the (whole) words they had perceived. Each headline had four words in two lines (sometimes with a preposition, which didn't count). Some of the headlines were: "Football Game/Ends in Tie" and "Stock Market/Trend Upward."

The percentage of words perceived by all subjects in one experiment was as follows:

None	10.8%
One	41.3
Two	32.6
Three	11.5
Four	3.7

After he had scored the number of words recognized by each subject, the results showed a significant relationship

between expressed interest in subject-matter and perception for younger adults and for people of college age. That is, the persons with high interest in the subject-matter of the headlines were able to perceive more words than did those with low interest.

He also found that sex interests affected the perception of the college age subjects; the differences could occur by chance less than one time in a thousand. For younger adults, sex interest affected perception, but the differences could occur by chance seven times in one hundred. These were headlines with words which readership studies had shown were predominantly "feminine" or "masculine," such as "football" and "education."

He also tested for the subjects' special interests and found a significant difference between those who owned common stocks and those who did not. But he found no differences between members and non-members of a church or a Parent Teachers Association.

He found no differences as to age, but suggested that this could be accounted for by the fact that so many of the subjects in the older age group were very elderly and, therefore, were not "good subjects."

Interest Cues

Although Deutschmann's experiments do not supply any specific guidelines for writing headlines, they demonstrate how words serve as cues for the individual reader's interests. Each reader seems to be unconsciously ready to respond (by reading) to cues representative of his personal needs and his learned attitudes.

Since so much of newspaper content is for those who read in a role (e.g., as a citizen, as a member of a labor union), the headline cues are especially important. Consider, for example, the different audiences for these headlines: "City Council Will Meet Tonight" and "Labor Council Will Meet Tonight."

Although it is generally agreed that the main function of the headline is to describe the story, some textooks say that a second function is to enlist the readers' interest. It would seem that such a prescription should apply only to certain kinds of feature stories and to magazine articles for which a clever headline is calculated to facilitate reading of the story or article. Stated in another way, the "to interest" function is of secondary importance and should not result in ambiguity, which could tend to screen out the perception of a headline on a straight news story.

Position of Words Perceived

His experiment also showed Deutschmann something about the position of the words most often perceived in a one-column headline of two lines with a 12- to 14-character

count. This is shown as follows:

(1) Stock (3) Trend		(2) Market (4) Upward	
Position 1	42.5%	Position 2	75.2%
Position 3	10.2	Position 4	28.0

(The differences could occur by chance only once in one thousand times)

He also found that when only a single word was perceived, it was most often in Position 2; when two words were perceived they were most often in Positions 1 and 2; and when three words were perceived they were most often in a 1-2-4 pattern.

Since almost every subject had **only one** eye fixation, the subjects fixed upon a point approximately in the middle of the headline, thus placing the word in Position 2 in the right visual field. In a second experiment, he placed a small dot on the screen above the horizontal median of the headline image and to the left. This caused words in Positions 1 and 2 to be most often perceived. For wider headlines, of course, there would be more than one fixation.

Perception on the Page

Deutschmann's experiments related to headlines on individual news stories, but somewhat similar experiments by others have related to the whole surface of the newspaper page. For example, Bogart, in his peripheral vision experiments with an eye camera and with blank space in ad positions, has shown that "the reader who has once stopped on the page is more likely to stop and look at other things—including those which he would otherwise screen out as irrelevant in his initial scanning."

(Paul J. Deutschmann, The Relationship Between Interest and Perception of Headline-type Stimuli, Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1956; J. S. Bruner and C. D. Goodman, "Nature and Needs as Organizing Factors in Perception," Journ. of Abnormal and Social Psy., 1947, pp. 33-44; Leo Bogart, The Strategy of Advertising, 1967; Bogart and Tolley, "The Impact of Blank Space: An Experiment in Advertising Research," Journ. of Adv. Research, June, 1964; Bogart, "How Do People Read Newspapers?", Media/scope, Jan., 1962)

Do Subheads Convey Much Information?

The practice of some newspapers which use subheads is to make a considerable effort to write complete sentences to convey information—often on the assumption that the subheads cause the reader to continue his reading of the story. The practice on other newspapers is to use only one

or two words—on the assumption that the subhead is merely one kind of typographic relief.

Hvistendahl, in 1965, found that readers believed subheads made a story more attractive and easier to read than did bold lead-ins or bold paragraphs. In 1967, he tested 445 subjects to determine whether or not subheads contribute meaningfully to the readers' comprehension of the story.

Subjects were presented with four experimental conditions in a news story about the troubles of a fictional airline, "Eagleroad Airlines." The first subhead reinforced the text it headed by repeating a fact from the text—"Eagleroad Loses Four Planes." The second subhead was merely "The Accident Record." The third subhead was contradictory to the first one—"Eagleroad Loses Six Planes." For the fourth condition, subheads were omitted so that any information gained from the story had to come solely from the text.

Similar treatment was given to textual matter in three other places in the story so that each of the readers was subjected to all three kinds of subheads and to the no-subheads condition.

He tested the subjects' recall of the information in the story immediately after they had read it. He found that most of the subjects who had read the version which had a noninformative subhead and those who read the story which had no subheads scored about as well as did those who had read the story with the more informative subhead.

The data suggest that many readers either ignore subheads or read them so casually that the subheads have virtually no effect on comprehension. However, analysis of the responses as to the contradictory subheads showed that almost one-half of the subjects either had spotted the contradiction or had answered the question based on the information in the subhead, thus showing that they had read the subhead.

Within the limits of his two studies, he concludes:

"Innocuous subheads appear to be about as good as informative ones. Consequently, the time spent in preparing carefully written subheads would appear to be wasted time. In fact, it could be hypothesized that a line of typographic ornaments could be substituted for the subhead. They would provide the necessary relief and would require no time for writing and less time for machine composition."

He suggests that further research should be done with an eye-camera.

(J. K. Hvistendahl, "The Effect of Subheads on Reader Comprehension," Journalism Quarterly, 45:123-125, Spring, 1968)

Chapter 3

CONTENT

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 3, pp. 92-102.

The following analysis of compared content of 17 newspapers in 1952 and 1967 was sponsored by the ANPA News Research Center with cooperation from the following universities: Colorado, Syracuse, Oregon, North Carolina, Iowa, Penn State, Ohio State, and Washington. The project was financed by ANPA.

Some Newspaper Content: 1952 and 1967

An analysis of 17 newspapers compared content in 1952 and 1967. Some of the findings were:

Space allocated daily to business-financial information increased 76%.

Increased attention was given to entertainment, but the emphasis on culture increased only moderately.

In 1967, a majority of the newspapers in the sample were using smaller wedding and engagement photos and several were publishing shorter wedding stories.

In 1967, fewer newspapers were reporting local amateur and Little League baseball, but more papers were reporting auto racing, horse racing, soccer, pro basketball, hunting and fishing, boating and skiing.

The average number of comic strips and humor panels was about the same for 1952 and 1967.

In 1967, the newspapers published more of the following kinds of syndicated matter: education, personal finance, humor, science, travel, home making and advice to the lovelorn.

The fifteen years between 1952 and 1967 represent a period in which there has been considerable change—technological, economic, educational and social. To determine the extent to which newspaper content has changed over this period, the ANPA News Research Center employed journalism students in nine universities to compare certain kinds of content in 17 newspapers for corresponding weeks in 1952 and 1967.

One week in each year was selected plus additional seasonal weeks for sports. Issues for seven days were analyzed, but in the Sunday issue only that content was measured which, for some papers, could have been published on a weekday. In a few instances, an early edition was analyzed.

The newspapers do not represent a cross-section of all dailies. They were selected on the basis of availability of

files for both years and availability of student analysts. Only papers which had a Sunday issue were selected. Ten of the papers had a circulation of 100,000 or more and seven had a circulation of less than 100,000, the average for the smaller papers being 43,000. Nine were morning, six were evening and two were all-day publications. They were:

Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, Denver (Colo.) Post, Seattle (Wash.) Times, Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Portland (Ore.) Oregonian, Dallas (Texas) News, Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Raleigh (N.C.) News & Observer, Syracuse (N.Y.) Post-Standard and Herald-American (Sunday), Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Lima (O.) News, Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard, Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, Pueblo (Colo.) Chieftain, Yakima (Wash.) Herald-Republic and Austin (Texas) American and American-Statesman (Sunday).

Although the sample is not representative of all dailies, this method has the advantage of recording actual content as compared with the impressionistic recollection of editors over a 15-year period. The results exhibit a considerable absence of uniformity among the papers rather than a definite trend for all the papers.

No attempt was made to analyze general news content because adequate standards and guidelines could not be devised that could be followed by several different analysts who could not be supervised directly. The analysts' task was mainly to record the presence or absence of the various assigned categories of content, although they also made a few measurements and supplied a qualitative evaluation about certain kinds of content.

Business-Financial

The most significant change in content was that of business-financial information. Although the total number of pages of all 17 newspapers for the specific weeks increased 46% for the daily issues, the space allocated to business-financial information daily increased 76%.

TABLE 1

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Business-Financial Content Daily in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
N.Y. Stock Exchange table:		
Complete	7	13
Selection of about 500 stocks	4	4
Selection of fewer than 500	6	0
American Stock Exchange table:		
Complete	1	8
Selection	0	5
A regional exchange table	8	7
Over-the-Counter quotations	5	12
Dow-Jones and/or other averages	13	16

	1952	1957
Mutual fund asset values	7	15
Dividends reported table	4	10
Earnings reported table	5	8
Commodity quotations	16	17
U.S. Bonds	6	8
Advice to investors column	2	8
Local business column	6	12
Syndicated business column	7	11
*Week's Range of Prices (N.Y.S.E.)	7	11
Foreign exchange quotations	4	4

*Published Saturday or Sunday

Table 1 shows, in a general way, how the increased space was allocated. Thirteen of the 17 papers in 1967 were carrying the complete New York Stock Exchange table of stocks whereas only seven had carried it in 1952. In 1952, 10 papers had carried a selected list of 500 or fewer stocks. The number of papers which published on Saturday or Sunday the week's range of all stocks traded on the New York Stock Exchange had increased from seven in 1952 to 11 in 1967.

Eight papers in 1967 were carrying the complete list of the American Exchange whereas only one had carried it in 1952. By 1967 the volume of trading in the lower priced and/or speculative stocks listed on the Amex had grown enormously. A recent Amex survey showed that 25% of all newspapers of more than 20,000 circulation are publishing the complete tables and another 38% are publishing a selected list.

The number of papers publishing mutual fund asset values more than doubled between 1952 and 1967 from seven to 15.

There is considerable evidence that many of today's investors are not just savers but have acquired some sophistication about investment and speculation.

Twelve papers in 1967 carried a local business column as compared with just six in 1952. According to the student analysts, the chief content of most of the local business columns related to promotions of corporate officers and employees. As one analyst commented, such columns reflected a step-up in the public relations activities of corporations. Some local columns, however, supplied information about the nature of the individual business.

Eleven papers in 1967 carried one or more syndicated business columns as compared with only seven papers in 1952. Some syndicated columns are done by very competent writers and are, therefore, contributing to the economic education of readers, a service which fewer newspapers were supplying a decade or more ago.

Culture and Entertainment

Table 2 reports the frequency of certain kinds of culture and entertainment content. It shows the transition from radio to television, with four papers having dropped the AM radio log. It also shows a somewhat greater emphasis on entertainment and entertainers as a field of reader interest. The emphasis on culture, however, increased only moderately.

TABLE 2

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Content Once a Week or Oftener About Culture and Entertainment in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
AM radio log (daily)	17	13
FM radio log (daily)	9	10
Educational TV log (daily)	0	11
TV log (daily)	12	17
TV column (daily)	6	15
Hollywood column	12	10
Broadway column	8	10
Night club column (local)	3	8
Book reviews:		
Staff written	13	15
Syndicated	1	4
Movie reviews	10	12
Movie-theater guide	15	13
Music:		
Review	9	10
Advance news story	9	12
Theater:		
Review	8	10
Advance news story	11	12
Art news	11	14
Radio, tv personalities	6	11
Photos of	8	13
Artists, actors, photos of:		
Local	9	11
Nonlocal	14	15
TV Guide for the Week	1	9

The student analysts were also asked to supply a qualitative statement about some kinds of content, basing it on more than one week's issue in each year. Of the ten papers with circulations of 100,000 or more, seven, or possibly eight, reflected a recognition of the wider popular interest in culture. They had more critical matter and more staff-written critical and descriptive matter and more departmentalization of such matter. The ninth newspaper, in the opinion of the analyst, had not increased its emphasis on culture and the tenth "in an overall sense, reflected a change for the worse."

Of the seven smaller newspapers, two in 1967 allocated a good deal more space for both culture and entertainment,

and one had a more sophisticated approach to its coverage, had more reviews than advance stories and had more staff-written reviews and stories. Three other of the smaller papers reflected little if any change, and two almost ignored culture as a field of reader interest.

The conclusion is that performance in this area was spotty in both 1952 and 1967. The explanations may be the variation from city to city of cultural facilities and of the potential audience for culture.

Women's Interests

Table 3 shows the number of newspapers in 1952 and 1967 publishing various kinds of content presumed to be of interest to women. The data are for once a week or oftener for each kind of content. There was more use in 1967 of 11 of the 20 different kinds of content, less use of five and the same use of four.

TABLE 3

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Content of Interest to Women Once a Week or Oftener in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
Club news	17	17
Parties	15	12
Recipes	14	14
Food preparation	13	16
Beauty, charm, personal care	10	11
Consumer interests	8	9
Sewing	4	6
Knitting, needlework	4	6
Patterns	11	8
Home decoration, furnishings	11	11
Homemaking	7	16
Serving meals	7	8
Diet, reducing	8	7
Entertaining	5	5
Washington social column	1	4
Careers	3	4
Calendar of events	11	10
Child care	9	3
Fashion photos	10	13
Syndicated fashion column	4	7

The differences between 1952 and 1967 are not large except for "homemaking," which shows a large increase, and for "child care," which shows a large decrease. It is possible that the interest in sewing has been underestimated as measured by the extraordinary increase in sales volume during this period of pattern companies and sewing machine companies. One estimate of the number of women who sew at home is 40 million plus three to four million teenage girls. The readership scores for sewing, knitting and patterns are quite acceptable for both women and girls.

In 1952, 15% of the wedding stories and photos ran daily as compared with 19% in 1967. In 1952, 15% of en-

gagement stories and pictures ran daily as compared with 8½% in 1967.

In 1952 (daily and Sunday) there was one wedding picture for every three stories. In 1967, there was almost one photo for every story. About the same proportion held for the ratio of engagement stories and pictures in 1952 and 1967.

Table 4 seems to show a trend toward the use of smaller wedding and engagement photos and shorter wedding stories. In 1952, however, a good many of the papers included in the "about the same" category were using many one-column and thumbnail cuts.

TABLE 4

Size of Photos of Weddings and Engagements and Length of Wedding Stories Compared for 1952 and 1967: By Number of Newspapers

Wedding photos:	
Larger	1
About the same size	7
Smaller	9
Engagement photos:	
Larger	0
About the same size	8
Smaller	7
Not stated	2
Wedding stories:	
Longer	1
About the same length	7
Shorter	6
Not stated	3

The analysts were asked to determine whether or not the content of the women's pages reflected a tendency in 1967 to recognize women as having interests other than those of the housewife, party-giver and member of a group. They found that six papers definitely perceived their female audience differently than in 1952 and five definitely did not; they did not make a determination for the other papers.

Sports

Table 5 shows, on a once or more a week basis, various kinds of sports content. The data will not surprise the usual sports editor and they supply little guidance for allocation of space. Most newspapers continue to allocate about the same relative space to the major spectator sports. Sports which were more frequently reported in 1967 than in 1952 were: auto racing, pro basketball, horse racing, soccer, hunting and fishing, skiing and boating.

TABLE 5

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Sports Content Once a Week or Oftener in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
Major league baseball:		
Story	17	17
Box scores	13	16
Line scores	4	6
Minor league baseball:		
Story	15	14
Box scores	10	11
Line scores	7	5
Major league baseball standings	15	16
Major league baseball averages	5	4
Minor league baseball standings	14	13
Local amateur baseball	12	7
Little League baseball	12	7
College baseball	15	15
High school baseball	15	16
Auto racing	12	16
Sports car racing	0	8
Drag racing	1	9
Softball	5	5
Pro basketball	10	15
College basketball	17	17
High school basketball	16	15
Wrestling	13	8
College wrestling	1	3
High school wrestling	6	10
Pro hockey	11	13
College hockey	3	3
Boxing	17	17
Track and field	11	11
College track and field	15	15
H.S. track and field	17	16
Harness racing	7	4
Horse racing:		
Results	14	15
Entries	9	13
Selections	4	9
Dog racing	4	4
Soccer	4	12
Pro golf story	16	16
Pro golf column	11	8
Amateur golf	13	15
High school golf	4	3
College golf	3	3
Outdoor column	8	8
Hunting	4	8
Fishing	3	10
Camping	0	2
Bowling	13	14
With tables	6	6
Swimming	14	12
Skiing (snow)	9	13
Skating	8	11
"People in Sports"	8	9
Sports column: local	12	13
Sports column: syndicated	3	7
College tennis	4	4
Billiards	4	4
Boating, yachting	6	11

Sports which were less frequently reported were local amateur baseball and Little League baseball.

Sports editors are well aware of such potential audience measures as game attendance, number of fishing licenses issued, number of golf courses, etc. They are probably also familiar with the usual readership scores. They may not be familiar, however, with teenage readership scores because these have only recently become available. For example, the Carl J. Nelson Research average scores for "Any horse racing reader" are: Men 29, women 7, boys 9 and girls 1. Some scores in individual newspapers for auto racing, however, average 18 for men and 15 for boys.

A Louis Harris survey suggests that the two demographic groups which most often follow sports are educated white people of relatively high income and Negroes.

No analysis of sports content was attempted from the qualitative point of view. But most sports editors understand the role of television in sports and, therefore, the need for special story treatment and expertise.

Miscellaneous Content

Table 6, which reports several kinds of content, shows some increase in the publication of weather information, humor, and puzzles and quizes. More papers were publishing an index, a news summary and a teenage column, page or section. Four papers which in 1952 published short local items under a standing head, such as "City Briefs," had discontinued the practice. Fiction had almost disappeared from newspapers and only five papers were publishing a picture page (or half page).

TABLE 6

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Content in 1952 and 1967

Daily:	1952	1967
Comic strips	17	17
Ave. number per paper	15	15
Humor panels	17	17
Ave. number per paper	5.4	5.0
Editorial cartoon	16	17
Cross-word puzzle	16	17
Weather map	9	15
Weather in other cities	14	16
Picture page (or half page)	5	5
News analysis	4	6
Index	11	15
News summary	4	8
News roundup	3	3
Humor, satire	10	14
City Briefs	11	7
Syndicated commentators	17	17

	1952	1967
One or more times a week:		
Opinion poll	7	9
News analysis (Sunday)	2	4
Fiction	5	2
Puzzles, quizzes, games	10	15
Local labor column	1	1
Syndicated labor column	1	0
Real estate column	2	1
Farm column, page	9	9
Suburban news column	7	6
Teenage column, section	5	12
Gardening column, page	9	11

Table 7 reports the publication daily or Sunday of several kinds of syndicated matter not mentioned in the other tables. The largest increases were advice to the lovelorn, bridge, education, health, science and travel.

TABLE 7

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Syndicated Matter Once a Week or Oftener in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
Advice to the elderly, retirement	0	5
Advice to the lovelorn	6	16
Career advice	0	2
Antiques	0	5
Aviation	0	3
Astrology-graphology	8	11
Auto, including repair	1	3
Bridge	9	15
College, preparing for	0	1
Children's books	0	1
Do-it-yourself	5	6
Education	3	8
Etiquette	4	7
Family, personal finance	1	4
Food preparation (men's gourmet)	1	5
Fashion (men)	3	2
Health	8	11
Mental health	2	3
Home building, repair	9	10
Insurance	1	2
Law	2	5
Pets	1	4
Photography	5	6
Phonograph records	3	5
Poetry	6	4
Questions and answers	7	7
Science	3	9
Landscaping	1	2
Stamps, coins	7	8
Travel	5	12
Veterans	4	4
Military affairs	0	1

Public Record Statistics

Practice varies so greatly among newspapers as to which kinds of public record are published that a count was made to determine whether or not some kinds of statistics published in 1952 had been discontinued or added. The results are in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Number of Newspapers Publishing Various Kinds of Public Record Statistics Daily in 1952 and 1967

	1952	1967
Births	17	16
Marriage licenses	14	13
Divorces	11	9
Traffic court	4	7
Fire alarms	5	6
Court judgments	7	7
Judgments satisfied	3	4
Building permits	2	2
Property transfers	1	2
Mechanics liens	1	0
Bankruptcy petitions	2	2
Stolen autos	1	1
Missing persons	1	1
Estates probated	7	7

Reader interest in some of this kind of content has not been adequately measured. But the data in Table 8 seems to show that several editors have correctly estimated low reader interest in those statistics that are of interest mainly to a special class of reader.

Appreciation for their cooperation in this study is expressed to Professors James E. Brinton, Colorado; Jack B. Haskins, Syracuse; John L. Hulteng, Oregon; Wayne A. Danielson and Maxwell E. McCombs, North Carolina; Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr., Iowa; Robert M. Pockrass, Pennsylvania State; Galen Rarick, Ohio State; and Merrill E. Samuelson, Washington.

Chapter 4

SOME COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 59-66, Vol. 2, pp. 55-64, and Vol. 3, pp. 20-47.

Negroes' Use of the Media

About three-fourths of the Negroes outside the South read a daily newspaper "yesterday."

Young Negro adults use the newspaper more than do older Negroes; the reverse is true for white adults.

Few Negroes read a weekly newspaper or a magazine "yesterday."

Negroes have as favorable opinion of advertising as whites have and "look forward" to the ads in all media more than do whites.

The ANPA News Research bulletins in 1968 have reported recent research about media use in the ghetto and other low-income areas of individual cities (ANPA News Research Bulletins No. 6, April 3 and No. 9, May 22). We now have some data about media use by Negroes on a national basis.

The data have been extracted by Dr. Leo Bogart, vice president and General Manager of the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA, from a large-scale study which was reported in the Dec. 6, 1967 News Research Bulletin ("When People Want to Know... Where Do They Go to Find Out?"). Of the 1,991 adults interviewed for that study, 240 (12%) were Negroes.

Table 1 reports the readership by whites and Negroes of at least one daily newspaper on the weekday preceding the interview ("yesterday").

TABLE 1.
READERSHIP OF NEWSPAPERS "YESTERDAY"

	% Reading		Proportion In each Group	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	80%	59%	100%	100%
Men	80	62	46	41
Women	81	56	54	59
South	74	50	28	65
Other regions	83	73	72	35
Metropolitan areas	85	61	62	75
Other areas	73	50	38	25
Under $3,000 Income	65	44	14	42
Over $3,000 Income	83	69	86	58

	% Reading		Proportion In each Group	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Age 21-34	76	67	27	34
Age 35 and over	83	54	73	66
Grade school education or less	68	41	21	44
Some High School or better	84	72	79	56

Although there is a great difference between whites and Negroes, much of the difference can be explained by geography: 65% of the Negroes in the national sample live in the South. Outside the South, the difference in readership is only 10%: about three out of four Negro adults read a newspaper "yesterday." Education and income, as one would expect, are also explanatory.

The data for age are reversed for whites and Negroes. Young Negro adults read newspapers more than do older Negroes, whereas young adult whites read 7% less than do older whites.

Of adults who read a daily newspaper "yesterday," the same proportion of whites and Negroes (39%) had read two or more papers "yesterday." (This is not shown in the table.)

More whites (11%) than Negroes (6%) reported having read a weekly newspaper "yesterday." This could reflect the modest coverage which Negro newspapers achieve within their community, and is confirmed by data previously reported in ANPA bulletins in 1968.

Use of Other Media

Table 2 presents some data on the use "yesterday" of magazines, radio and television. Twice as many adult whites read a magazine and only 8% of Negroes read two or more as compared with 20% for whites.

TABLE 2.
COMPARATIVE USE OF MAGAZINES, RADIO AND TV

	White	Negro
Read a magazine yesterday	39%	19%
Read 2 or more	20	8
Listened to radio yesterday	68	55
Of those who listened:		
2 hours or more	34	33
Watched TV yesterday	83	75
Of those who watched:		
2 hours or more	54	59
Saw at least 1 TV newscast yesterday	62	50
Listened to at least 1 radio newscast yesterday	56	43
Not exposed yesterday to a newspaper or to any radio or TV newscast	4	16
More interested in local news*	55	69

	White	Negro
More interested in national, international news*	47	29
Gave favorable answers about advertising	60	63

*A few respondents gave multiple answers.

But the amount of use of radio and television differs very little. There are differences as to television programs and in the time of day radio is listened to: fewer Negroes than whites listen to day-time radio—possibly because a larger proportion of Negro women are in the labor force (50% of nonwhite adult females vs. 38% of adult white females).

Advertising

When a scale of three questions about advertising was asked, Negroes' responses were slightly more favorable than were whites' (63% to 60%).

For each medium, respondents were asked to express agreement or disagreement with this question: "When I pick up a newspaper/magazine (turn on television/radio) I look forward to the ads." The percentage of "agree" responses was as follows for each medium:

	Whites	Negroes
Newspaper	66%	72%
Magazine	55	62
Radio	18	42
Television	22	48

Dr. Bogart concludes that most of the differences in media exposure between Negroes and whites reflects the differences in social position and geography rather than any self-conscious alienation of Negroes as a group.

Media Use in the Ghetto

Two studies show that Negroes who live in ghettos have much more confidence in television than in newspapers. In a Pittsburgh ghetto, 47% of the families own two or more TV sets but only 14% receive a daily newspaper.

In the same isolated ghetto, little news information reaches the Negroes and their interest is only in their near environment.

In Los Angeles, a good many more Negroes seek information than in the Pittsburgh area, but their main concern is with race relations.

(In both studies, the sample contains a disproportionate number of women, and in the Los Angeles study the sample is biased upward as to education).

T. H. Allen, last June, interviewed 100 respondents who lived in the "Hill District" of Pittsburgh in which the population was 87% nonwhite. The median family income (in 1966) was $2,800; the unemployment rate for males was 19% and for females 7%; 43% of the housing was substandard; and there was a high incidence of family disor-

ganization and crime. The median age of male respondents was 32 years and of females 30 years. Two-thirds of the "residents" (not defined) were married.

Most of the respondents were females who were questioned about the communication behavior of other members of their family as well as about their own. Allen's "inventory of news media" in the households is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.
INVENTORY OF MEDIA IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Own/receive:	One	More Than One
Radio set	100%	64%
TV set*	95	47
Daily newspaper	14	0
Sunday newspaper	60	0
Weekly newspaper (Negro)	13	0
Magazine	42	0

*Ten percent had three TV sets most of them purchased secondhand.

Listening and Viewing Behavior

Most radio listening was from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. to "anything that was on," virtually all of it being incidental to housework. Nearly all of the listening was by women and children. Four per cent listened to news—mostly men during their lunch hour at home. Radio listening from Monday through Friday averaged five and one-half hours—many times the national average for listening in the home.

Very little TV viewing was done before 5 p.m. Thereafter until bedtime close to 100% looked at the TV "all the time" or "part of the time." The programs generally were "anything." ("We never switch around for different programs. They're all the same anyway").

The "whole family" viewed one or more TV news programs from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. These were mainly local programs; fewer respondents viewed network news programs about national and international events. Almost three-fourths of the respondents had not learned about the outbreak of the war in the Middle East (during the week of interviewing) until at least 12 hours after the first news flash at 6 a.m. Monday.

Newspaper Reading

As the "inventory" table above shows, the Sunday paper was read much more than the daily paper. Three-fourths of the women, one-half of the men, 28% of the teenage children and 43% of the children under 12 years of age read a daily or Sunday paper. The favorite parts mentioned by adults were "sales" (display ads) 32% and "styles" 24%. Children's favorite parts were comics 61% and sports 24%.

The respondents were "generally ignorant of the geographical location of such places as Vietnam and the Suez

Canal and the distinction between the war in the Middle East and Vietnam."

As one respondent said:

> "I'm not interested in what happens over there in Vietnam—that don't affect me, but if a car hits a child on my block or a friend's house burns or somebody I know gets shot, this is what I'm interested in. This is what I want to know about."

Magazines

Magazines "received in the home" were in these percentages for those who said they received a magazine (58% of the households received none):

Ebony	38%	Secret	10%
True Detective	19%	Confidential	3%
True Story	15%	Look	2%
Modern Romance	12%	Reader's Digest	1%

No respondent reported receiving a news magazine, "Life" or "The Saturday Evening Post." Of those who read the magazines listed above, 83% were women, 12% men and 5% teenage children.

Reliability of the Media

Respondents were asked: "Which news medium do you think is the most reliable and factual?" Approximately the same question was asked in a study made in the Los Angeles area which will be summarized later. The findings were as follows:

	Pittsburgh	Los Angeles
Television	77%	70%
Radio	12	—
Newspaper	6	12
No preference	5	18
	100	100

Two verbatim responses in the Pittsburgh study may explain why some persons have more confidence in TV newscasts than in newspaper stories. Apparently, "seeing is believing":

> "When you read about something in the newspaper, you don't know for sure what happened. But on TV you can hear what the man says happened, and then you can see for yourself by watching the pictures if it really happened. Then you can make up your own mind. I can't always get what those words mean, but I understand what I hear and see."

* * * *

> "You can see the actual event taking place on TV, but with a newspaper you have to try to guess what happened."

The Los Angeles Area Study

Lyle, in 1963 (two years before the Watts riot), interviewed 168 Negroes in nine census tracts in Los Angeles and a suburb. Three tracts were in the central city, two were in the southern (Watts) area, three to the west of the central area, and two in a surburban area 20 miles from the central section. Negro density in the tracts ranged from 40% to 90%. Two tracts were of low income and the others were of moderate or moderately high income.

The sample contained a disproportionate number of women and was biased upward as to educational level. The interviewers were Negroes.

Usage of Media

Regular listening to radio **news** was reported by 55% of the respondents and regular viewing of television newscasts by 84%. Newspapers read "regularly" were as follows:

Times	30%
Herald-Examiner	32
Negro weeklies (3)	86

When asked whether the newspaper or television was more important to them, 56% said television and 35% said the newspaper. Choice of the newspaper was twice as great in the suburban area as in the city areas.

Respondents were asked which of the media was their main source of information for different kinds of information. Table 2 shows the daily newspaper is the preferred medium for seven of the eight kinds of information and that the largest Negro weekly (which carries classified but not grocery advertising) is relied upon to only a slight extent. When asked, "How much do you really need the Sentinel (the largest weekly) ?", 42% of the respondents in the suburban area said they didn't need the paper "at all."

TABLE 2.
MEDIA CITED AS THE MAIN SOURCE FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF INFORMATION

	Daily Paper	Negro Paper	Shopper	TV
Grocery shopping	28%	1%	36%	2%
Clothes shopping	44	1	19	7
Household shopping	43	0	23	4
School news	30	2	14	7
Civic affairs	40	11	10	9
Entertainment	43	14	4	5
Nat'l, int'l news	51	1	1	18
Sports	52	2	1	14

Ninety per cent of all respondents said they read magazines regularly. The median number was three. General magazines ("Life," "Look," "Saturday Evening Post") were

read by 60%; "Ebony" by just over half; "Jet" by 30% and news magazines by 20%.

Knowledge

Lyle tested the knowledge of the respondents. Ninety per cent correctly named the mayor of Los Angeles, one-half knew the name of the city councilman for their district and about one-half could identify their Congressman. The Los Angeles postmaster (a Negro) was identified by 56%, including 45% who had only an elementary school education. The chief of police (who had been criticized for alleged unfairness to Negroes) was correctly identified by 82%.

News Interests

Lyle asked about the frequency with which the respondents discussed various kinds of news. The answers are reported in Table 3. The data emphasize (1) the differences in the educational levels and (2) the importance to the respondents of racial relations.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE WHO SAID THEY DISCUSSED CERTAIN TOPICS "DAILY" AND "OFTEN": BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

News topic:	Elementary	High School	College
Nat'l government	21%	40%	74%
International affairs	24	38	68
Business affairs	40	36	61
Crime news	36	43	54
Segregation news in South	76	81	85
Local race relations	67	76	84

Fairness of the Press

Table 4 reports the responses to three questions designed to measure Negroes' perception of the fairness of the two Los Angeles metropolitan newspapers.

TABLE 4.
OPINIONS ON FAIRNESS TO NEGROES IN TWO LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

1. Do you think a Negro church or organization has an equal chance of getting a story published in the (name of paper) as does a white church or organization?

   Yes, equal 25% No, unequal 46% Don't know 28%

2. Do you think a Negro candidate for public office against a white candidate has an equal chance of getting a story published in the (name of paper) as does his white opponent?

   Yes, equal 32% No, unequal 45% Don't know 19%

3. Do you think the (name of paper) prints both sides of issues that involve Negroes and Whites?

   Yes, always 13% Sometimes not 43%
   Yes, most of the time 31% Never 11%

When asked which they would trust as to contradictory stories—a metropolitan daily or a Negro weekly—36% of the **suburban** Negroes chose the daily and 25% the weekly; 39% expressed no preference.

A standardized test developed at Stanford University which has been used in many communities included this question: "Does the (name of paper) print both sides of issues that involve different races?" The responses in a typical community in which most of the respondents were white were as follows: Yes, always, 29%; yes, usually, 62%.

The same test also included this question: "If a Negro got in a serious fight with a white man in this area, how fair would the (name of paper) be toward the Negro?" Responses in the same typical white community were as follows: Not at all fair, 0.4%; not very fair, 3%; pretty fair, 39%; very fair, 53.5%; don't know, 4%.

Neither of these studies presents an adequate report of communication behavior in the ghetto. Both samples include a disproportionate number of women, and one includes too many better-educated Negroes. The Los Angeles area study did not purport to be a complete study of communication behavior but was intended to measure differences between Negroes in the relatively isolated ghettos of the city and those in a suburban area. It is one of several case studies of the ecology and sociology of the Los Angeles area as they affect news coverage.

(T. H. Allen, Mass Media Use Patterns and Functions in a Negro Ghetto, Master's thesis, University of West Virginia, 1967; Jack Lyle, The News in Megalopolis, 1967)

Communication Among the Urban Poor

Low income people (in Lansing, Mich.) use and like TV more than do members of the general population.

The urban poor read newspapers almost as frequently and almost as thoroughly as does the general population.

Greenberg and Dervin of Michigan State University, in the winter and spring of 1967, compared the communication behavior of 312 residents of the lowest income areas of Lansing, Mich., with a sample of the general population who had telephones (206 respondents).

The racial composition of the poor residents was as follows: 42% Negro, 48.1% white, and 9.9% other races, mostly of Spanish origin.

Compared with the general population, fewer of the low income respondents had jobs, had voted in the last state election and belonged to clubs or other organizations. The low income respondents said they talked with fewer neighbors. They had an average of 10.9 years of education as compared with 13.2 years for the general population.

TV Viewing

Table 1 shows ownership of black-and-white and color TV sets in working condition, and responses to the question, "On the whole, how much do you like television?"

Table 1.
Comparison Of Some TV Characteristics Of Low Income And General Population Respondents

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Ownership of working tv set:		
None	3.2%	2.9%
1	63.8	57.8
2 or more	33.0	39.3
Own color set	9.6	21.8
"How much do you like tv?":		
A lot	51.6	14.1
Quite a bit	26.3	31.5
A little	19.2	46.6
Not at all	2.9	7.3
No answer	—	0.5

Table 2 compares the two groups as to their viewing of the top 12 programs broadcast between October, 1966 and January, 1967 as determined by Arbitron and Nielsen ratings; movies and specials were excluded. The table shows the percentage of each group which viewed the program "every week or almost every week."

Table 2.
Percentage Who View Top 12 Programs Every Week Or Almost Every Week

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Beverly Hillbillies	71.5%	31.1%
Andy Griffith	71.5	43.2
Green Acres	61.2	29.6
Bonanza	60.3	30.1
Ed Sullivan	56.7	35.9
Daktari	57.6	40.8
Lucy Show	51.6	29.6
Jackie Gleason	51.6	43.2
Red Skelton	52.6	32.0
Walt Disney	38.8	35.9
Lawrence Welk	24.7	25.2
Bewitched	20.2	18.0

Newspaper Reading

Table 3 shows that low-income people read the newspaper almost as frequently and almost as thoroughly (as measured by number of sections read) as does the general population.

Table 3.
Newspaper Reading

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Frequency of reading:		
Every day	64.4%	77.2%
1 to 6 times a week	27.9	18.0

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Never	7.7	4.8
Number of sections read:		
1	17.0	12.1
2	27.2	23.3
3	19.5	23.8
4 or more*	28.3	35.4
Never reads	7.7	4.8

*Includes those who read "all of the paper" but did not mention sections.

Yet, as Table 4 shows, the poor rely mainly on television for local news somewhat more than does the general population.

Table 4.
Medium Preferred For Non-Local And Local News

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Non-local news:		
Television	63.5%	34.9%
Radio	17.3	25.7
Newspapers	15.1	31.5
Talking to people	2.6	4.4
No answer	1.6	3.4
Local news:		
Television	30.4	20.4
Radio	31.[illegible]	31.0
Newspapers	23.1	40.3
Talking to people	13.1	6.8
No answer	1.9	1.5

Table 5 compares the two groups as to radio listening, magazine reading, movie attendance and ownership of records and a record player. The main difference is that the poor spend more time listening to records than does the general population. The expected differences as to other characteristics are not very large.

Table 5.
Radio Listening, Magazine Reading, Movie Attendance And Phonograph And Record Ownership

	Low Income	Gen. Pop.
Magazine reading (never reads)	16.7%	10.2%
"When was the last time you went to see a movie?":		
This week	2.6	6.8
Last week	6.0	8.2
2 to 3 weeks ago	5.4	14.6
A month or longer	85.9	69.9
Owns phonograph	76.3	85.9
Number of records owned (median)	50	53
Time spent listening to records (hrs.)*	1.1	0.5
Radio listening (hrs.)	1.7	1.8

*Only of those who owned a phonograph.

(Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, Communication Among the Poor, Report No. 1. Michigan State University, Nov., 1967)

Communication Behavior of Poor Negroes and Whites Compared

Negroes with approximately the same education and low income as whites (in Lansing, Mich.) do not use the newspaper as a tool for daily living quite as much as do the poor whites.

Greenberg and Dervin, of Michigan State University, in 1967, compared the communication behavior of a sample of Negro and white residents of the lowest income areas of Lansing, Michigan. The areas were designated by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Almost two-thirds of the respondents of both races were females.

The Negroes and whites had about the same median family income (about $105 a week) although more members of the Negro households had full-time or part-time jobs. About two-thirds of the white respondents had been born in Michigan as compared with only one-sixth of the Negroes of whom 71% had been born in a southern state. The Negroes had had about a half-year more formal education with twice as many having gone beyond high school graduation.

A larger proportion of Negro respondents (43.3%) belonged to a club or social organization than did the white respondents (32%).

Table 1 shows the frequency and amount of newspaper reading and how the newspaper was obtained. The differences are not very large. The table also reports some of the parts of the newspaper that are usually read. The major difference was the much greater reading of comics by Negroes.

Table 1
Newspaper Reading

	Negro	White
Frequency:		
Read every day	53.8%	69.4%
1 to 6 times a week	27.4	19.3
Less than once a week	6.9	4.0
Never read the paper	6.9	7.3
Number of sections read:		
3 or more	42.8	53.3
1 or 2	49.5	38.7
Never read the paper	6.9	7.3
Parts read:		
Headlines	23.7	14.0
Front page	30.5	36.7
News*	24.4	24.7
Advertising**	20.0	26.0
Women's interest	13.6	15.4
Comics	42.0	8.7

	Negro	White
Sports	17.6	14.7
Editorials, opinion	7.7	8.6
How paper obtained:		
Delivered	68.7	79.3
Buys at newstand	25.2	11.3
Never reads the paper	6.1	8.7

*All types of general news.
**Display and classified combined.

The major differences shown in Table 2 are the Negroes' higher evaluation of television and recorded music.

Table 2
Some Communication Characteristics of the Respondents

	Negro	White
Ownership of working TV set:		
1	59.5%	66.0%
2 or more	38.2	30.7
None	2.3	3.3
Own color set	9.2	9.3
Own record player	84.0	70.7
Records owned (median number)	42	36
Watched TV yesterday	74.8	77.3
Listened to radio yesterday	63.3	60.0
Listened to records yesterday	71.0	46.0
"How much do you like TV?":		
A lot	59.5	46.0
Quite a bit	23.7	29.3
A little or not at all	16.8	24.7

When the question, "How much do you like television?", was asked of a sample of the general population of Lansing, the responses were as follows:

A lot	14.1%
Quite a bit	31.5
A little or not at all	53.9

As inspection of Table 2 shows, the differences are very great between the general population and both the poor whites and Negroes.

Table 3 shows a somewhat greater preference by the whites for the newspaper as a source of news. About one-fifth of the Negroes said they got their local news from other persons.

Table 3
Medium Preferred for World and Local News

	Negro	White
World news:		
Television	65.6%	65.3%
Radio	19.8	12.0
Newspaper	10.7	18.0
Not answered	0.8	2.0

	Negro	White
Local news:		
Television	26.7	32.7
Radio	32.1	34.0
Newspaper	18.3	25.3
People	21.4	6.7
Not answered	1.5	1.3

Table 4 reports the responses to questions about where the respondent would seek information when looking for a job or a place to live. The table shows that the whites would refer to the newspaper more than would the Negroes.

Table 4
Sources of Information for Job Hunting and Home Hunting

	Negro	White
When looking for a job:		
Newspaper	10.7%	26.0%
Ads	10.0	8.0
All media	—	1.3
Employment office	52.0	50.0
When looking for a place to live:		
Newspaper	19.8	29.3
Radio or TV	—	0.7
Ads	13.7	4.0
Real estate agent	36.6	43.3

Although the differences are not large, this study seems to show that Negroes of this class do not use the newspaper as a tool for daily living quite as much as do whites with approximately the same income and education. It is possible that age accounts for some of the differences: the median age of Negroes was 34.3 years and of whites 44.2 years.

(Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, Communication Among the Poor, Report No. 3. Michigan State University, May, 1968)

More Negroes Use TV and Newspapers In Presidential Election Campaigns

Dr. Maxwell E. McCombs, of the University of North Carolina, this year reanalyzed some of the data from the quadrennial national studies of presidential election campaigns by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center from 1952 to 1964.

In all four campaigns, the study had asked specifically about the use of newspapers and television for following the campaign.

According to their answers to the questions, respondents were classified as (1) high users of both newspapers and television, (2) low users of both media, (3) high users of newspapers and low users of television, and (4) high users of television and low users of newspapers.

The accompanying table shows that the percentage of Negroes classified as low users of both media declined from 63% in 1952 to 41% by 1964. By comparison, the percentage of whites who were low users of both media increased during the period by 12%.

Media Use Pattern, 1952, 1964: Whites and Negroes

	Negroes		Whites	
	1952	1964	1952	1964
High/Both Media	9%	19%	23%	23%
High Newspaper/Low TV	11	13	18	18
High TV/Low Newspaper	17	27	30	18
Low/Both Media	63	41	29	41

The percentage of Negroes who were high users of both media in 1952 was only 9%. But by 1964 the proportion had increased to 19%. The percentage of whites who were high users of both media did not increase at all. However, the percentage of whites who had been heavy users of television declined 12%.

Newspaper and TV

Dr. McCombs speculated as to why Negroes' high use of newspapers increased only 2% in the 12-year period, as follows: "As awareness of politics develops, television most likely is the medium turned to first because it already is available. Using a TV set for political information is qualitatively a far different and simpler act than purchasing and reading a newspaper. As the appetite for political information increases, it is likely that the newspaper is added as a second source of information."

Negro Political Participation

Since the Supreme Court's school segregation decision Negroes have become much more politically conscious and more active in politics. Studies have shown increased voter registration and much higher turnout: Negro turnout nationally jumped from 32% in 1952 to 53% in 1960 while white turnout remained stable at about 70%.

(Maxwell E. McCombs, "Negro Use of Television and Newspapers for Political Information, 1952-1964," Journal of Broadcasting, 12:261-266, 1968)

"Best Coverage" of Public Affairs News by Print and Broadcast Media

The 1967 Roper Associates study found that 64% of the respondents in a national sample got most of their news from television and 55% from newspapers. Since several respondents had mentioned both media the total for these media was 119%. The Roper study had asked the same question in four earlier surveys. The question was:

First, I'd like to ask you where you usually get most of your news about what's going on in the world today—from the newspapers or radio or television or magazines or talking to people or where?

Carter and Greenberg, in 1965 suspected that if respondents had been asked to state from which **one** of the sources they got most of their news the answers would have been different. This was because about half of the respondents in the 1964 Roper study had mentioned more than one medium—not just one.

Carter and Greenberg asked both versions of the question of a split-half sample of 500 adults in San Jose, Calif. The results were as follows:

	Question allows but one answer (theirs)	Question allows more than one answer (Roper's)
Newspapers	44%	79%
Television	32	66
Other Media	24	85
Total	100	230

As the table shows, the way the question is asked makes a great difference, especially for television. A computation shows that the inflation attributable to the Roper version was 80% for newspapers and 106% for television.

Clarke and Ruggels, of the University of Washington, criticized both versions of the question because neither yielded a clear response as to whether the questions measured "how good" the sources were or "how much information" the sources provided. They also thought that "news" had not been clearly defined.

Restricting their definition to public affairs news, they presented to a sample of 1,250 heads of households in the Seattle area 20 synopses of public affairs news and asked the respondents to state which medium supplied "the best coverage."

The geographical origin of the news leads were international, national, state, county and city. Some examples are listed in Chapter 5. *(See "Reader Interest in Local, Non-local Public Affairs Stories Is About Equal").*

Table 1 presents the findings. Responses mentioning radio news and television news were combined; for all five sources, radio accounted for 28% of the responses and television for 72%.

Table 1.

Average Percentage of Best Coverage Mention*

	News Mags.**	TV/Radio Newscasts***	Daily Newspaper
International	15%	35%	47%
National	15	30	52
State	1	26	68
County	1	21	69
City	1	25	66

*The rows do not total 100% because weekly newspapers were eliminated from the table.
**Includes "Seattle Magazine."
***TV and radio newscasts combined.

Four of the news stories were about war in the Middle East, Nigeria and Vietnam. When these were eliminated from the computation the average percentages for international news became: magazines 20% (instead of 15%), broadcast 23% (instead of 35%) and daily newspapers 50% (instead of 47%). The probable explanation is that news about war lends itself to dramatic and spectacular presentation by a visual medium (See *"News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. III, p. 24).*

Table 2 shows the correlations between use of the several media and preference for the medium as providing the best coverage for each date-line kind of news. It is not necessary for one to understand the exact meaning of the correlation coefficients. One needs only to note the differences; for example, that preferences for broadcast media correlate very weakly with frequency of use of those media.

Table 2.

Correlation Between Exposure to News Medium and Preference for Medium in Providing Best Coverage of Public Affairs News

	Int'l	Nat'l	State	County	City
			Preference for Broadcast		
Frequency of 6 p.m. TV news viewing	.14	.13	.09	.08	.09
Frequency of radio news listening	.00	.00	.02	.01	.06
			Preference for Magazine		
Number of news magazines read	.34	.25	.05	.04	.01
			Preference for Newspaper		
Number of daily newspapers read regularly	.18	.17	.22	.21	.21

The researchers' interpretation of Table 2 is as follows:

"The low correlation between medium use and broadcast preferences suggests that public affairs coverage is not a major factor in a person's decision to view or listen to radio and television news.

"By comparison, use of the print media appears more strongly associated with mentions of [news] magazines and newspapers as best sources. This underscores the qualitative difference between the print and broadcast fan. Not only is the print fan more interested in public affairs, his use of newspapers and magazines may be a function of how well they are thought to cover public affairs."

The researchers also found a strong correlation between education and choice of medium, but the data are omitted from this summary.

(Peter Clarke and Lee Ruggels, "Media Source Preference for News About Public Affairs," Unpublished MS., 1968; Elmo Roper Associates, "Emerging Profiles of Television and Other Mass Media Public Attitudes," Report to the Television Information Office, 1967; R. F. Carter and B. S. Greenberg, "Newspapers or Television: Which Do You Believe?", Journalism Quarterly, 42:29-34, 1965)

How People First Learned About The President's Decision Not to Run

Nineteen hours after President Johnson, on Sunday, March 31 at 9:45 p.m. (EST), broadcast that he would reduce bombing of North Vietnam and would not run for reelection, Allen and Colfax, of the University of Connecticut, sent interviewers into the field to ask this question of a probability sample of residents of Willimantic, Connecticut:

"During the past day or so, have you heard about President Johnson's plans for the coming Presidential campaign?"

Forty-eight hours later, the researchers had completed the interviewing. They found that 83% of the sample had heard the news, although 11% had confused or partially correct information.

Those who had heard the news were asked: "How did you first hear this news—from TV, radio, the newspaper or from some other person?" The results were as follows:

Original broadcast on TV	73%
Original broadcast on radio	5
A later broadcast on TV	3
A later broadcast on radio	10
Read it in the newspaper	5
Heard via word-of-mouth	5

Most of those who heard the news via word-of-mouth had heard it within an hour from a relative in the household or a neighbor. Thus 85% of those who knew about the event had heard about it within an hour.

The broadcast had been scheduled for maximum exposure to television and had been announced well in ad-

vance as a major policy address. The broadcast was two days prior to the Wisconsin primary when interest in politics was at a high level.

The foregoing data show that 78% of those who knew about the event heard the news by instantaneous broadcast. This is equivalent to slightly more than two-thirds of the potential audience of adults.

Those who had heard about the event were asked, "About how many persons have you talked to about the news, including strangers, members of your own family and friends?" The responses were as follows:

1 or more	87%	4	52%
2	70	5	47
3	60	13	15

Those who had talked to five or more persons said most of them were work associates.

The knowers who had talked to five or more persons were predominantly men, members of a white collar household and persons with a high school or higher education.

Other studies have shown that the way people first learn about an event is related to the importance of the event and to whether the event was unexpected or scheduled (See ANPA "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. I, pp. 59-61). The present study relates to a very important event which, in one sense, was both scheduled and unexpected, and was announced at a time of maximum exposure to television. The study did not relate to people's evaluation of the event after being exposed to commentary in the newspaper or on the broadcast media.

(I. L. Allen and J. D. Colfax, "The Diffusion of News of LBJ's March 31 Decision," Journalism Quarterly, 45:321-324, 1968)

When Adults and Teenagers Read Their Newspaper

When the Richmond (Va.) newspapers, in the fall of 1967, surveyed 2504 adult and 598 teenage readers, one question was "At what period of the day do you usually read the Times-Dispatch (News Leader)?" The results were as follows:

	Times-Dispatch (morning)			News Leader (evening)		
	Men	Women	Teens	Men	Women	Teens
Morning	73%	77%	50%	1%	4%	0%
Afternoon	3	6	20	6	9	16
Evening	16	13	28	93	87	84
Both a.m., p.m.	8	4	2	0	0	0

Media Use by the Better Educated In Presidential Election Campaigns

A declining proportion of better educated people have been following presidential election campaigns on television and radio, although this is not true for the whole adult population.

Since 1952, the University of Michigan Survey Research Center has conducted a study of each campaign and has asked a question about usage of the various media during the campaign.

Professor John P. Robinson, of the Survey Research Center, correlated the usage responses with the education of the respondents (after correcting for the respondents' professed degree of involvement in the campaign since the better educated tend to be more involved). The table below shows the correlation coefficients.

	1952	1956	1960	1964
Television	.14	.16	.10	—.02
Radio	.06	—.01	—.07	—.01
Magazines	.31	.30	.35	.36
Newspapers	.25	.29	.24	.26

It is not necessary to understand exactly the meaning of the coefficients in order to compare them. They show little change since 1952 for newspaper readers and a higher correlation for magazine readers. But television has lost more ground than has radio. There is actually a small inverse correlation between usage of TV and radio and education in some years.

An extensive analysis of media use in presidential election campaigns was reported in "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. 3, p. 36.

(John P. Robinson, The Impact of Television on Mass Media Usage: A Cross-National Comparison. Paper read at the Sixth Congress of Sociology in Evian, France, 1966)

Parent-Child Relation Affects Child's Media Use

McLeod, Chaffee and Wackman, in 1966, studied interpersonal communication within the family in relation to media use. The 234 respondents were ninth grade children in Madison, Wisconsin and their parents. They found these four family types:

Protective: The child is encouraged to get along with others by steering clear of the controversial realm of ideas. Not only is he prohibited from expressing dissent, but is given little chance to encounter information on which to base his own view.

Pluralistic: The child is encouraged to explore new ideas and is often exposed to controversial material. Thus, he can make up his own mind without fear that reaching a different conclusion from his parents will endanger social relations in the family.

Laissez-faire: Children are neither prohibited from challenging parental views nor exposed to information relevant to expressing independent ideas.

Consensual: While the child is exposed to controversy, he is also constrained to learn his parents' ideas and to adopt their values.

The figures in the table below are correlation coefficients. One does not need to know precisely what they mean in order to note the differences: The higher the coefficient, the greater the correlation. Some of the coefficients represent an inverse correlation.

Analysis showed that families of higher socio-economic status are more likely than others to be of the "pluralistic" type. Yet this was not a determining factor.

Children in "pluralistic" families were also more active in student government, in speech and debate and on student publications.

	Protective	Laissez-faire	Consensual	Pluralistic
No. of newspapers read	−.10	−.28	.09	.31
Time spent with newspapers	−.08	−.26	.13	.23
Number of news magazines read	−.21	.00	−.02	.22
Time spent with television	.42	.01	−.24	−.26
Viewing entertainment TV	.09	−.10	.09	−.06
Viewing public affairs TV	−.05	−.17	−.08	.26

(J. M. McLeod, S. H. Chaffee and D. B. Wackman, Family Communication: An Updated Report. Paper presented at annual meeting of Assn. for Education in Journalism, 1967)

Chapter 5

READERSHIP

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 36-47, Vol. 2, pp. 29-41, and Vol. 3, pp. 52-60.

Reader Interest in Local, Non-local Public Affairs Stories Is About Equal

In a study of 1,250 adults in the Seattle area this year, sponsored by the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Clarke and Ruggels found that the geographical origin of a news story about public affairs is not highly related to reader interest.

They defined public affairs stories as those "which deal with the exercise of decision or power by a political institution."

Interest in 20 synopses of stories of different geographical origin were tested. Some examples:

International: (1) Nigeria puts pressure on dissident Eastern zone; and (2) Heavy Viet Cong fire pounds allies.

National: The Supreme Court clamps down on redistricting plans in three states.

State: State Tax Commission adopts new sales tax rates.

County: King county commissioners approve park lands.

City: Billboard interests urge Seattle Council to ease restrictions.

The correlation between interest in international stories and interest in Seattle City Hall stories was very high. "The follower of courthouse developments tends to be the same individual who seeks information about national and international affairs."

The researchers suggest that the departmentalization of news by geographical origin is not necessarily an audience convenience—when the stories are about public affairs as they define the term.

(Peter Clarke and Lee Ruggels, "Media Source Preferences for News About Public Affairs." Unpublished MS., August, 1968.)

Dimensions of Interest In General News Stories

The straight news story has two or three elements of interest—(1) personality, (2) reference group and (3) subject-matter—not just one element.

"Proximity" is a psychological—not a geographical—dimension.

A request for data on the readership of foreign news has suggested summarizing a scheme for classifying news content on the basis of reader interest.

Although hundreds of readership studies have been made, we still don't have enough scores for categories of items to determine an adequate hierarchy of interest. As for foreign news, we do have the scores for 40,158 items from 130 newspapers measured between 1939 and 1950. More than one-half of those studies, however, were done between 1939 and 1945. Of all of the items published between 1939 and 1945, only 9.1% had a foreign dateline. The average readership scores by geographical origin are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.
AVERAGE READERSHIP SCORES FOR 40,158 ITEMS BY GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN (1939-1950)

U.S., local	19.9%
U.S., domestic	19.6
U.S., Washington	18.0
Africa	31.7
North America	27.5
Asia	27.3
Western Europe	27.0
U.S.S.R., satellites	25.5
British Isles	24.2
Latin America	18.8
Middle East	18.7
Australia, N.Z.	16.8
Average of all	20.2

The table shows that, with one or two exceptions, scores were higher for items of foreign origin than for items with a dateline somewhere in the United States. But 4.6% of the items were about the war, and account for 8% of the total readership.

The most recent study (1967) shows that subject-matter sometimes determines the amount of interest more than does the dateline (*"News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. III, p. 20)*. Of the 20 items in that study with the highest scores, eight related to the war in Vietnam and one was about a foreign political personality. Nine of the other 11 items (local or national) were about some threat in the environment or about personal health.

The same study asked a national sample about preference for national-international and local news. The preference for local news was only slightly higher than for national-international news with women expressing somewhat more interest in local news than did men.

Three Elements of Interest

The geographical origin of a news story is only one element of interest. As a measure of interest, "proximity"

is a psychological dimension for some readers. For a New Jersey mother whose son is a GI stationed in Okinawa news of a destructive typhoon in Okinawa has more interest than if the storm had been in Ohio. A resident of Seattle who used to live in Cedar Rapids is probably interested in reading about an event in Cedar Rapids.

Every news story has two or more elements of interest. For example, in a content analysis of news, a story about de Gaulle and his "force de frappe" would be classified, according to the system which will be described below, as "Person Well known/Defense."

The system of categories mentioned above was developed in 1952 for a study of foreign news in American newspapers on behalf of the International Press Institute. Three groups of categories were developed from the general news stories in six newspapers published for two months of the cold war period. These were (1) personality, (2) reference group and (3) subject-matter.

The personality dimensions, which are defined at the end of this summary, are: People well known; People not well known; People in groups; and "Hollywood" (personalities).

The reference group dimensions were: Our community, our region; our nation; our allies; our enemies; and other nations.

A reference group is any group to which a person relates his attitudes. Such a group may be formal (organized) or merely a reference point for making evaluations of one's self and of others. It may be a "we" aspect of ego involvement; a reader, for example, may perceive in a certain news story a threat to "our" national security, to "our" football team's win record or to "our" community's welfare.

When the system was used in a content analysis, the coder categorized each item by assigning two or more elements, one of which was subject-matter. Thus: "Our Community/Crime," "People not well-known/Natural death," "Our Nation/Communism in the U.S.," etc.

Not enough readership scores for every category are available for the development of adequate guidelines for selecting news stories on the basis of interest. The editor must still make his own estimate. His judgment, however, can be assisted if he relates each story to the two or three kinds of categories mentioned above; that is, if he evaluates a story by two or three dimensions rather than by only one. Most editors probably do this, but some do not: the study mentioned at the beginning of this summary found that, of the 130 newspapers measured, the best read paper had 80% of the items with scores higher than the average for all papers (20%) and the least read paper had only 28%.

This method of evaluation is not concerned with the importance of the story—only with the estimated interest of readers.

Definitions of Categories

People well known: Persons presumed to be well known to most readers of the particular newspaper because of their fame or notoriety or particular accomplishment.

People not well known: Persons in the news because of their particular accomplishments or activities or position, but not well known to the usual reader of the particular newspaper.

People in groups: Persons in the news because they are officers or committee members of clubs, lodges, societies, fraternal organizations, Boy Scouts, and other nongovernmental groups; pall-bearers, etc.

Hollywood: Persons not otherwise well known who are associated with the Hollywood entertainment industries. Excluded: activities of those persons classified as "People well known."

Our community, our region: An element with which all members of the newspaper's community (or region) identify because of the place of the community in the news item or the effect this news may have on the community.

Our nation: An element with which almost all readers of United States newspapers might identify as members of this nation. This does not imply that all events happening within the boundaries of the United States have this element; nor does this element apply only to events taking place within these boundaries.

Our allies: During a "cold war" period, some political and economic events in a country formally or informally allied to the United States have a peculiar meaning to an American reader because they are or seem to be related to the security or welfare of the United States. Excluded: news in which American men or equipment are directly involved or in which the United States' interest is *directly* stated (see "Our nation").

Our enemies: Most political and economic events in the Communist-controlled nations affect the American reader in a different way than do events in other foreign countries. Such events may be threatening or reassuring.

Other nations: (a) News about happenings in foreign countries other than those mentioned above; (b) those happenings in the countries included in "Our allies" and "Our enemies" which do not directly or indirectly affect the welfare of the United States.

Prices: News about the fluctuation of the prices of consumer items or the controls of these prices; cost-of-living index.

Labor—major: News chiefly concerned with the con-

flict element of organized labor in society; strikes, expected strikes, plans of labor which could affect the welfare of the community of the particular reader or the welfare of the nation; when the dispute is either nationwide or directly affects a large section of the public.

Labor—minor: News concerned with the day-to-day activities of organized labor; elections, peaceful settlement of contracts, grievances, etc. News which might be of interest to the reader simply because it deals with "labor" rather than the "power" of labor in curtailing production or affecting the welfare of the nation.

Communism in the U.S.A.: News of the activities of Communists in the U.S.A.—proven or suspected—political activities, investigations, trials.

Accidents, disasters: News involving disasters of nature (fires, floods), explosions, transportation, accidents and accidents befalling individuals. There are three orders:

First order: News stories which involve a considerable number of fatalities and/or a great amount of property damage.

Second order: News stories which report one or only a few fatalities.

Third order: News stories which report property damage and/or injury short of death. Included are expected disaster, exposure to disaster, missing persons.

Money: News in which the *amount* of money involved is a separate element of interest to the usual reader. Excluded: prices of consumer items (see "Prices").

Health, personal: News of diseases, cures, epidemics with which most readers will be able to identify. Excluded: atomic medicine (see "Atomic bomb-Atomic energy").

Health, public: News of public health, the communal or national welfare, health agencies.

Children, welfare of: News of the activities of the younger set, the next generation; juvenile delinquency. Excluded: Education of the next generation (see "Education"); the human interest antics of young children (see "Children, cute").

Children, cute: News of the cute, unexpected antics of children.

The remaining 28 categories are not defined because of lack of space, but are listed below. Their definitions will be supplied by ANPA on request.

Governmental acts
Politics
Rebellion
War
Defense
Atomic bomb-Atomic energy
Social and safety measures
Alcohol
Science and invention
Religion
Philanthropy
Weather

Diplomacy and foreign relations	Natural deaths
Economic activity	Transportation
Taxes	Education
Agriculture	Animals
Judicial proceedings: civil	Marriage and marital relations
Crime	Amusements
Sex	The arts, culture
Race relations	Human interest

Obviously, any list of subject-matter categories has to change from time to time to reflect the current news. Some of the categories mentioned above would probably be dropped and others would have to be developed.
(C.E. Swanson, "What They Read in 130 Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 32:411-421, 1955; C. R. Bush, "A System of Categories for General News Content," Journalism Quarterly, 37:206-210, 1960)

Readership of Radio, TV Logs Compared

In a study done last November in which 756 men and women were personally interviewed, the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune measured "yesterday's" readership of the radio and TV logs in the first five days of the week. The results are reported below together with the five-day averages for a similar study done in 1966.

	Radio		TV	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sunday	3.0%	8.0%	74.0%	56.0%
Monday	3.0	1.0	58.0	68.0
Tuesday	4.0	3.0	62.0	61.0
Wednesday	3.0	5.0	53.0	65.0
Thursday	2.0	0.0	64.0	67.0
Average, 1967	3.0	3.4	62.2	63.4
Average, 1966	7.2	8.0	66.0	68.0

The radio log in the Tribune, which reports both AM and FM programs, occupies almost three-eighths of the total space devoted to radio and TV logs.

Adult Readership of the High School Page

A Sunday readership study completed in December, 1967 by the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune measured adult reading of the items on two facing high school pages entitled "The New Generation". Some of the results were as follows:

	Men	Women
Lefthand page	24%	53%
Righthand page	24	58
Art	18	48
Voice of Youth (letters)	7	21

The highest read story by men (7%) was top recordings. The highest read story by women (18%) was a story about school rebels being judged by a youth court.

Readers' Interest in Legals

The Minnesota Newspaper Association procured from Readex, Inc., of Mahtomedi, Minn., copies of 84 newspapers in 20 states which Readex had surveyed recently, and anlayzed the scores for legal and official advertisements.

About one-fourth of the newspapers were small dailies and about three-fourths were weeklies.

Readex mails to subscribers shortly after publication of an issue an identical copy and asks the subscribers to check those items which they remembered having read "with interest." Such scores approximate the actual reading behavior found by the personal interview method when small size papers are measured.

The average interest scores for men and women were as follows:

	Men	Women
Probate legals	21%	20%
Summons	30	29
School board proceedings	43	33
City, village council proceedings	53	39
Ads for state bids	35	11
Ads for county bids	28	19
Ads for city bids	23	15

Chapter 6

READERSHIP BY TEENAGERS

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 48-58, Vol. 2, pp. 42-55, and Vol. 3, pp. 61-77.

The ANPA News Research Center commissioned Dr. Peter Clarke, of the University of Washington, to study the newspaper reading interests of teenagers for the purpose of identifying the kinds of interesting "marginal" content that correlates with interesting "central" content.

On the basis of his findings, Dr. Clarke recommends that the newspaper publish the following types of content:

- Science and technology (for both boys and girls).
- Teen advice (mainly for girls).
- Fashion and grooming (girls only).

The following types of content offer less promise of increasing the number of teenage newspaper users or the intensity of their readership:

Teen entertainments, such as popular music.
Cars and hot-rodding (boys)

Toward Making Permanent Readers Of Teenagers

Dr. Clarke defined "marginal" content as the kind of editorial matter usually published in teen sections and pages such as (1) popular music; (2) advice to teenagers; (3) teen fashion and grooming; and (4) cars and hotrodding. He defined "central" content as the kind of existing content that is published for adults, such as (1) accidents and crimes; (2) public affairs; (3) science and technology; (4) spectator sports; and (5) homemaking.

The assumption is that the newspaper maximizes the probability of teenagers becoming permanent readers when it adds a kind of "marginal" content that shares interest (for teenagers) with existing content; and that permanent readers are not developed if the "marginal" content does not share interest with existing content.

(Ed. Note: Publications of such "marginal" content, however, has been justified by some newspapers even though

it does not develop permanent readers on the basis that teenagers, while they are still teenagers, are entitled to just as much attention as are investors, hobbyists, housewives and other audiences with a special interest).

The Sample and the Items

Respondents were 631 boys and girls in the ninth and twelfth grades in five senior and nine junior high schools in the Highline School District just south of Seattle, Wash.

The 68 items were brief synopses (mainly lead sentences) considered to be representative of eight types of content. The youngsters were asked to indicate on a "thermometer" scale (ranging from 0 to 100) the likelihood that they would read further in the (complete) item. Some of the items were:

Public affairs: Richard Nixon's supporters are taking steps to alter the candidate's image among some voters as a Goldwater conservative.

Science, technology: New surgical methods allow doctors to replace a larynx with a substitute voice box made from the patient's own tissue.

Sports: Jim Bouton of the Yankees tells how it feels to be a major league pitcher who returns to the minors to regain his form and confidence.

Crime, accidents: Lynn Eugene Pless, 27, of Seattle, was shown leniency yesterday on a death-driving charge.

Homemaking: Here are some dos and dont's about caring for a sewing machine.

Fashion, grooming: Sunglass fashions feature wild shapes and lenses with different tints—light blue and orange, for instance.

Teen—popular music: This week's list of the top-forty record hits in the pop parade.

Teen—advice and teen opinion: Surprisingly, dating sometimes intensifies personality conflicts between teenagers. Here's some frank advice.

Cars, hot-rodding: Dodge's GTS 340 comes on as a big surprise. Not only does it wail for a little car, but the big guys better watch out for it too.

The teenagers' interest in the eight types of content is shown in Table 1. Respondents were divided into four classes: fans (a rating of 80 or higher); likely readers (61 to 80); possible readers (41 to 60); and "nonreaders" (40 or less). In the table, the percentages for fans and likely readers have been combined.

TABLE 1

Interest in Type of Content: By Sex and Grade (Percentages of "Fans" and "Likely Readers" have been combined)

	Boys		Girls	
	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade
"Central" content:				
Accidents, crimes	50%	45%	57%	49%

	Boys		Girls	
	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade
Science, technology	60	72	49	51
Public affairs	9	24	15	25
Sports	38	45	7	4
Homemaking	2	0	28	27
"Marginal" content:				
Cars, hot-rodding	61	65	20	17
Fashion, grooming	2	2	67	54
"Teen"	41	47	80	62

(Ed. Note: Girls' comparatively low interest in homemaking content should be noted. Readership studies confirm this finding. See "Few Girls Read in the Role of Housewife," News Research for Better Newspapers, Vol. 3, p. 73.

(It is also possible that some artificiality in the sports items resulted in lower interest scores than would be obtained from a measurement of the reading of "yesterday's" newspaper, as, for example, during a baseball pennant race).

It will be noted that girls' interest in teen matter declines after the ninth grade. When the scores for this kind of content were broken down into (a) popular music and (b) advice and teen opinion, it was found that the decline in interest (31%) is mainly with respect to popular music; the decline in interest in advice is only 7 per cent.

Another finding: Girls' interest in teen matter is much higher than boys'.

Shared Interest in Content: Boys

Tables 2 and 3 show the extent to which interest in each kind of content is shared with interest in the other kinds. These are correlation coefficients. One does not need to know precisely what they mean; only to note the differences. Correlations are not shown for some items because the coefficients were not statistically significant.

Table 2 shows for both ninth and twelfth grade boys that public affairs news correlates highly with science and technology news (44 and 45). For ninth grade boys, public affairs news also correlated modestly with sports (18).

TABLE 2

Boys' Shared Interest in Eight Types of Content (Correlation coefficients*)

	Science	Sports	Accident, Crime	Hot-Rodding	Home-making	Fashion	Teen
	NINTH GRADE						
"Central" content:							
Public affairs	45	18					20
Science			17		16		
Sports				33			23
Accident, crime					24	21	20
Homemaking						65	20
"Marginal" content:							
Hot-rodding							47
Teen fashion							32

	Science	Sports	Accident, Crime	Hot-Rodding	Home-making	Fashion	Teen
	TWELFTH GRADE						
"Central" content:							
Public affairs	44			22	19		
Science			21		20		
Sports				38			23
Accident, crime					24	21	20
Homemaking							20
"Marginal" content:							
Hot-rodding							47
Teen fashion							32

*Decimals omitted

Science news for boys in both grades correlates modestly with news about accidents and crimes.

When we look at teen content (last column in Table 2) we note that it correlates to some degree with all but one (science) of the other kinds of content for ninth grade boys and with all but two kinds (science and public affairs) for twelfth grade boys. It shares interest with hot-rodding more than with any other kind of content—"central" or "marginal (47)."

This means that boys who are avid readers of teen content have only a moderate interest in existing content, which is published mainly for adults. It means, further, that teen content makes only a small contribution to the objective of making permanent readers of boys.

TABLE 3

Girls' Shared Interest in Eight Types of Content (Correlation coefficients*)

	Science	Sports	Accident, Crime	Hot-rodding	Home-making	Fashion	Teen
	NINTH GRADE						
"Central" content:							
Public affairs	53	31					
Science		27	25				
Sports				51	26	23	
Accident, crime						17	17
Homemaking						59	21
"Marginal" content:							
Hot-rodding						28	34
Teen fashion							60
	TWELFTH GRADE						
"Central" content:							
Public affairs	44			22	19		
Science			21		20		
Sports			19	33			41
Accident, crime				32			23
Homemaking						47	28
"Marginal" content:							
Hot-rodding					17	24	44
Teen fashion							34

*Decimals omitted

Shared Interest in Content: Girls

Table 3 shows certain content relationships for girls. We see again the high relationship between public affairs and science news. Looking at teen content, we note that it correlates modestly with accidents-crime news for both grades. But most of the other correlations are between the several kinds of "marginal" content rather than between the kinds of "marginal" and "central" content.

When there is no correlation or a very low correlation between "marginal" content and "central" content this indicates that the teenager finds very little else of interest in the paper. It means, further, that the publication of such "marginal" content does little to develop an audience of permanent readers.

Dr. Clarke's findings show that the highest correlation between teen content and "central" content is with sports for twelfth grade girls (there is no correlation for ninth grade girls). It also shows only a moderate correlation with homemaking content.

Interest and Newspaper Use

Dr. Clarke also asked how often and how recently the teenagers read their newspaper and divided them into heavy users and light users. Heavy users were those who said they read the paper "almost every day" and had read it either "yesterday" or "today." Light users were those who reported less frequent or less recent reading.

He compared both kinds of users as to their interest in science and technology and found (1) a tendency among both boys and girls for science fans to make heavier use of newspapers than the less avid readers of science, and (2) that about 10% of the teenagers who had a high or fairly high interest in science were light users of newspapers.

He also compared boys' interest in cars and hot-rodding with their newspaper use. Those who were most interested in this content were light users.

He also compared girls' interest in fashion and grooming with their newspaper use and found no relationship. Thirteen per cent of the girls who were highly interested or fairly interested in fashion and grooming were light users.

After separating "teen" content into (a) advice and teenagers' opinions and (b) entertainers and popular music, he compared interest in advice and teenagers' opinion content with use. He found no relationship for either boys or girls.

As for "teen" content, it was shown in Table 1 that boys' interest is much lower than girls' interest. He also found a sharp decline in girls' interest in "teen" content be-

tween the ninth and twelfth grades, especially for "teen" content about entertainers and popular music (not shown in Table 1).

Newspaper as a Good Source

Dr. Clarke asked the youngsters to rank the media as to whether they were a good source of information about seven kinds of content. Table 4 shows the percentage who specified the newspaper as a good source.

TABLE 4

Percentages Ranking Newspapers First or Second as Good Sources of Information: By Sex and Grade

	Boys		Girls	
	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade
Politics and government	68%	74%	80%	74%
Science	47	47	58	61
Sports	66	57	41	55
Popular music	7	8	7	8
Ideas about clothes	16	18	17	26
Cars and hot-rodding	13	11	13	16

He suggests that the low preference for newspapers as a source of information about certain kinds of content (e.g., popular music, fashion and grooming and cars and hot-rodding) is an argument for not including that content for the purpose of developing permanent readers.

(Ed. Note: To date there is no research data which show that the use of the newspaper by those interested in certain content is supplementary to their use of competing media or that the other media usurp the audience for such content).

Teenagers' Magazine Reading

The youngsters were asked to write the titles of magazines they read. These were coded into 13 categories. Readership for eight of the categories is shown in Table 5. Three of these (general interest, news and women's) may be thought of as benchmarks for comparison with the magazines of special interest.

TABLE 5

Magazine Readership: By Sex and Grade

	Boys		Girls	
	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade
General interest (adult)	55%	67%	57%	76%
News	23	49	15	35
Women's	5	4	29	49
Teen	4	2	63	17
Fashion and grooming	0	0	51	62
Cars and hot-rodding	30	28	3	1
Mechanical and electronics	26	19	1	2
Sports*	40	29	8	8

*Does not include "Sports Illustrated"

The so-called "teen" magazines are Eye, Coed, Sixteen, Flip, Hit Parade, Hullabaloo, KJR Beat, Teen Screen, Teen Set, Tiger Beat and Downbeat. It will be noted that these have almost no appeal for boys and that girls' interest in them declines between the ninth and twelfth grades (from 63% to 17%).

In contrast, girls show a high and persistent interest in fashion magazines (Cosmopolitan, Elle, Glamour, Harper's Bazaar, Hairdo, Ingenue, Madamoiselle, Seventeen and Vogue).

About three out of ten boys in both grades reported reading magazines about cars and hot-rodding.

Liked Content

Dr. Clarke also asked the youngsters to list what they liked and disliked about newspaper content. The major types of liked content are reported in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Percentages Mentioning Each Type of Content Among Newspaper Reading Likes: By Sex and Grade

	Boys		Girls	
	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade
Comics	62%	50%	52%	45%
Sports	45	47	12	7
Advertising	25	30	10	21
Advice columns	24	16	38	28
Other entertainment media*	8	16	11	10

*Includes TV and radio logs, recording stars, movies, etc.

Dr. Clarke interprets these preferences as a measure of saliency; that is, they were the first things that came to the youngsters' minds. They measure what is salient as well as what is enjoyable. For that reason, they cannot be compared directly with the data for the eight kinds of items in Table 1. He suspects that the boys' score for advertising refers mainly to used car offerings in the classified section.

Dr. Clarke's recommendations listed at the beginning of this summary are inferences derived from the several kinds of measurements reported here. These are interest in content, correlation of interest between one kind of content and another kind, the newspaper as a good source for certain kinds of content, use of the newspaper and readership of special interest magazines.

Adult-Teenage Readership Compared

The Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch and News Leader, in the fall of 1967, distributed questionnaires to a stratified sample of readers and received a total of 3,102 usable re-

turns, including 598 from teenagers (13 to 19 years)—an 86% completion rate.

Readers were asked to check those items which they **usually** read.

For some kinds of items, scores obtained by this method are considerably higher than those obtained by the conventional personal interview survey which measures readership of items read "yesterday." For example, the average score of all such studies done by Carl Nelson Research, Inc. for "any editorial reader" is men 40 and women 29, as compared with the higher scores listed below.

For a good many other items, however, the scores are not very different when obtained by either method. The main value of the Richmond study is the comparison it provides between adults and teenagers. The scores in the accompanying table are for the Times-Dispatch (morning) except when otherwise noted.

	Male		Female	
	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen
Sports:				
Major league baseball	76	72	19	21
Richmond Braves baseball	69	74	20	21
Results and standings	70	72	16	27
High school roundup	52	83	26	71
College roundup	59	65	16	40
Motorsport Report	40	55	6	9
Outdoors column	52	40	10	9
Local sports column	60	55	9	12
About Dogs	28	23	20	16
Tide chart	34	23	8	8
Amusements:				
Radio, TV listings	80	84	85	86
TV column	31	30	45	36
Movie reviews	44	66	62	77
Theater reviews	37	49	58	60
Editorial page:				
Editorials	79	23	72	27
Editorial cartoon	78	59	71	60
Letters to the editor	70	25	75	45
General:				
Weather (top p. 1)	81	63	81	72
Weather map, other cities	42	20	33	18
Obituaries	63	16	80	34
Dept. index, page 1	56	47	59	51
Local news	92	69	90	62
State news	90	60	87	54
National, int'l news	87	57	80	57
Classified ads	56	30	51	30
Regular features:				
Crossword puzzle	25	24	36	34
Bridge column	13	8	22	6
Ask Andy	38	54	45	62
Special pages and features:				
Saturday "religion" page	28	7	50	23

	Male		Female	
	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen
Religious column	19	5	33	9
Youth page (weekly)	15	48	38	66
People Around Richmond	36	12	47	20
Gallup Poll	43	16	27	16
Women's section:				
Club news	7	5	49	27
Weddings, engagements	18	14	79	75
Food pages	18	4	76	23
Consumer columns	17	5	54	23
Stories, pictures on fashion	8	9	76	67
Feature articles on women's news	5	6	73	39
Home furnishings stories	14	4	73	29
Business and finance:				
N.Y. Stock Exchange	47	15	19	10
American Stock Exchange	32	12	11	4
Richmond Stock Market	37	8	11	5
Dow-Jones averages	40	7	10	5
Standard & Poor 500 index	26	2	6	2
Market review story	33	5	10	3
Stocks in Spotlight	37	8	11	3
Dividends	33	8	10	3
Mutual fund assets	28	5	7	1
Items in News-Leader:				
Vital statistics	41	31	52	31
People and Places column	50	29	62	40
Foreign Dateline	53	29	39	27
Book page (Wednesday)	28	17	31	10
Saturday news summary	60	29	50	24
Household hints column	13	12	82	33
Baseball box scores	75	70	14	21
Arnold Palmer golf column	40	42	10	7
Real estate transfers	49	13	36	5
Personal finance column	39	10	19	4
News of the Military	50	33	40	29
Produce market	27	10	14	3
Junior Editors	19	37	28	44
Pattern	12	17	46	31
Health column	52	31	76	47

Sports, Comics, Front Page Interest Teenagers Most

One of the 80 questions asked in the 1968 Capital Area Youth Forum, sponsored by the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot and News, was "What interests you most in newspapers?" The results were as follows:

Sports	26.9%	School news	4.7%
Comics	19.7	Advertising	3.6
Front page	17.0	Editorial page	2.3
Women's news	10.0	Other	3.8
Local news	5.4	Not answered	6.1

A total of 17,817 students in 30 senior high schools filled out the questionnaire. The Harrisburg papers have sponsored the Youth Forum for eight years. Tabulation of the answers required nine hours of computer time.

Chapter 7

EDITORIAL ADMINISTRATION AND PERSONNEL

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 110-121, Vol. 2, p. 111, and Vol. 3, pp. 78-84.

Accuracy in News Stories

The accuracy of a news story is related to the way in which the facts were obtained.

More objective-type errors were in stories about unexpected events than in stories about scheduled events. But the opposite was found for subjective-type errors.

The persons mentioned in 270 local news stories from three newspapers were asked, in 1966, by Fred Berry Jr., to evaluate the accuracy of the stories. The newspapers were the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle and the Palo Alto (Calif.) Times.

Berry clipped the items and mailed them to the respondents on the day of publication or the next day. He did not clip sports, society, business or entertainment stories. Only one person per story was queried.

The respondents reported that 46.3% of the stories from the three papers were entirely accurate. Previous studies have shown that about one-half of the persons mentioned in a news story specified some kind of inaccuracy.

The accuracy of stories about scheduled events was 48% and of stories about unexpected events was 44%. This difference was not statistically significant for the three papers combined, but it was for the Palo Alto (Calif.) Times (scheduled events, 56%; unexpected events, 34%.)

The kinds of inaccuracy he found are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF INACCURACIES: BY KIND OF INACCURACY

	% With error
Omission	24.4
Misquote	20.0
Misspelling, typo	19.6
Inaccurate headline	19.6
Overemphasis	15.6
Underemphasis	15.6
Name wrong	10.7
Figures wrong	8.5
Title wrong	4.8
Age wrong	3.3
Address wrong	3.3
Location wrong	3.3
Time wrong	2.6
Date wrong	1.1

It will be noted that about one-fourth of the errors specified were of the "objective" kind (name wrong, address wrong, etc.). Most of the inaccuracies relate to something about which the subject of a news story and the newsmen disagree to some extent—emphasis, omission and headline accuracy.

The inaccuracies listed in Table 1 were categorized as "objective" and "subjective." Objective errors referred to name, title, address, misquotation, figures, time of event, location, date, misspelling and typo. Subjective errors were inaccurate headline, overemphasis, underemphasis and omissions. The average error per story for each of these kinds of error are shown in Table 2. (Omitted from the table are those kinds of error for which the difference was not statistically significant.)

TABLE 2

AVERAGE ERRORS PER STORY: BY KIND OF INACCURACY

	Average Errors Per Story	
	Unexpected Event	Scheduled Event
All objective errors:*		
Including typos	1.082	.765
Typos excluded	.719	.463
Name wrong	.157	.067
Age wrong	.057	.013
Address wrong	.074	.000
All subjective errors:	.545	.919
Inaccurate headlines**	.165	.221
Overemphasis	.083	.215
Underemphasis	.099	.201
Omissions**	1.553	1.536

*Differences not statistically different for title, misquote, figures, time, location, date, misspelling, typos.
**Difference not statistically significant.

On the theory that more time is available for preparing a news story about a scheduled event, Berry hypothesized there would be more inaccuracies in stories about unexpected events. As Table 2 shows, this holds true only for the objective kind of inaccuracy. The opposite is true for the subjective kind of error. He did not explain the difference in error contributed by typos.

Respondents were asked to state the way in which the news was obtained; Berry calls this the "source" of the story. Table 3 shows that stories obtained by telephone are the least accurate and that stories written from press releases were the most accurate.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF INACCURACY BY "SOURCE" OF STORY

	% Accurate	No. of Stories Using the Source
Press release	62%	50
Personal interview	55	58
Reporter at event	45	95
Phone interview	36	56
Someone respondent knows	53	19
Other	45	33
Don't know source	39	38

The category designated in Table 3 as "other" is police, letters and other writings, court records, and magazines and other newspapers. More than one-half of these stories were obtained from policemen and other law enforcement officers; only 18% of these were free from inaccuracy, whereas court records were 82% accurate.

(Fred C. Berry Jr., "A Study of Accuracy in Local News Stories of Three Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, 44: 482-490, 1967.)

Main Causes of "Subjective" Errors In News Stories

The ANPA News Research Center commissioned Dr. David L. Grey, of Stanford University, to make an exploratory study of the causes of subjective inaccuracies in news stories by interviewing both the sources of the stories and the reporters who wrote them.

Both news sources and reporters agreed that insufficient background knowledge was the main reason for the problem. In several instances, reporters acknowledged this and attributed it to insufficient time available for gathering the information and writing the story.

Dr. Grey has been a reporter for the Wall Street Journal, the Toledo (Ohio) Blade and the Ann Arbor (Mich.) News. He is the author of "The Supreme Court and the News Media" (1968).

By David L. Grey and Gary C. Lawrence

The study emphasized subjective types of inaccuracies, such as overemphasis and underemphasis, distortions in meaning and omissions. Excluded were the more mechani-

cal (objective) types of inaccuracies, such as misspelled names, incorrect titles and typographical errors.

Nineteen of 21 news sources mentioned in local stories in a newspaper published on the San Francisco peninsula were interviewed about the "subjective" errors they had previously reported (via mailed questionnaires) as appearing in the news stories. Nine of the 12 reporters involved were then interviewed to get their reactions to the same news stories.

As expected, there were some disagreements over whether "errors" had actually occurred; but the purpose of this study was not to judge rightness or wrongness but, instead, to try to get at the reasons for any real or imagined inaccuracies. Responses showed the following reasons—ranked roughly by frequency of mention:

Causes Cited by News Sources

1. Reporter's insufficient background information.
2. Sensationalism, overdramatization and overemphasis in phrasing.
3. Lack of personal contact between source and reporter.
4. News desk and editing practices, policies.

Causes Cited by Reporters

1. Reporter's insufficient background information.
2. Reporter's insufficient time for gathering information and writing the story.
3. News desk and editing practices and policies.
4. Incompetence and laziness admitted by some of the reporters themselves.

Most significant in agreement is that insufficient background information seems to be the primary cause of such inaccuracies. Also interesting is that both the source and the reporter cited news desk and other editing personnel as sometimes to blame. But the patterns of divergence are perhaps even more significant—with the news source stressing "sensationalism" and lack of personal contact and the news reporters emphasizing the problem of too little time. (It is also intriguing that reporters acknowledged the problem of laziness and incompetence—though, as expected, they tended to stress these as problems for reporter colleagues rather than for themselves).

Lack of Personal Contact

The problem of personal contact (either by phone or in-person) turns up especially interesting patterns when compared against "seriousness of error" (based on an index of the news source's view of the seriousness and on a

rating of the story's general importance in the community), as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Number of Contacts by Reporter With News Source

Type of error:	2 or more times	One time	No contact
"Most serious"	0	0	8
All other	2	6	2

Although it cannot be said that lack of personal contact "causes" more serious inaccuracies, it can be said that —even with such a small sample—the two factors seem clearly to go together. Or phrased another way: no contact between a newsman and a news source increases the likelihood of "serious" subjective errors being perceived as occurring or actually occurring. This point may be especially revealing when it is noted that news sources tend to stress lack of contact as a reason for inaccuracy while newsmen hardly mention it.

The obvious implication is that newsmen should reassess carefully their practices or personal interaction with news sources—if for no other reason than the fact that news sources see lack of contact as frequently a cause of inaccuracy.

Recommended Safeguards vs. Inaccuracy

The findings, while far from definitive, also suggest other specific practices that newsman might consider for reducing the number and the possible seriousness of both real and alleged subjective types of errors:

1. Whenever possible, reporters should routinely ask news sources such questions as "What is the significance of this event?" or "What should the public know about this event?" And near the end of each interview should come the double-check: "Is there anything that we have not covered or that we should go back over?" Such efforts to get a news source's view of the "news" would not seem to be compromising a reporter's independence—if such comments and opinions are weighed as coming only from one involved participant.

2. Whenever possible, a reporter assigned a kind of story he has never reported before should be given extra time to gather background information and to write the story. Among the obvious devices here might be extra freedom to examine thoroughly the morgue and clipping files and to talk with experts and fellow knowledgeable newsmen. Such an approach suggests going even to the point of preparing packets of clippings and reference materials which could be taken along on assignments. In sum: first-time

assignments should perhaps "automatically" be given extended deadlines—extra time for preparing and assembling the final news product.

3. Whenever possible, reporters and editors should work even more closely together to avoid errors in copy editing and revision (including, especially, headlines—an apparently frequent source of both "objective" and "subjective" inaccuracies).

In addition, it is especially significant that three news sources said they felt some responsibility for helping the reporter get the news story "complete" and "straight" so as to avoid some unintentional omission of an important fact or point of perspective. Newsmen should take advantage of this empathy. In particular, the reporter should try to cultivate in his news sources an understanding of the partial responsibility of the source in determining the accuracy of the final news product.

Some Facts About "Action Line" Columns

The APME Content Committee last spring queried 65 editors of newspapers which run an "Action Line" type of column. Fifty-six answered the questionnaire. Thirty-one of their newspapers had circulations in excess of 50,000 and 25 had less than 50,000.

Called by various names since it was originated in 1961 as WATCHEM by William P. Steven, then of the Houston Chronicle, (Trouble Shooter, Help, Zip Line, Quick Line, Hot Line, Live Wire, Readers' Exchange, Do-It Man, Gotta Gripe, Call Quest, etc.), the column is handled differently by the responding editors. Most papers solicit complaints from readers and obtain redress, reporting some of the cases in the column. Some papers, however, also answer questions about sports, entertainment and/or women's interests.

Table 1 reports editors' estimates as to whether or not the feature has increased circulation. Almost one-half (46.4%) think the feature has definitely increased circulation and another 18% say circulation increased slightly.

Table 1. Estimated circulation gain: Number of papers

Circulation	Has Increased	Has Increased Slightly*	Has Not Increased	Not Certain
Over 50,000	15	5	1	10
Under 50,000	11	5	6	3
Total	26	10	7	13

*Includes such responses as "a little," "probably," "some," and "marginal"

Table 2 shows the average cost of conducting the column broken down by circulation size. The range of cost estimates is very large for both sizes of papers.

For papers with larger circulations, the average (median) number of editorial employees assigned to handle the column was 2.3 and the average number of clerical employees was 1.7. These are in addition to the papers which use the whole staff on a part-time basis with or without clerical assistance. One paper uses six full-time editorial employees and another, which uses three full-time editorial employees, also uses eight full-time clerical employees.

Table 2. Average (median) Weekly cost ($)

	Average	Range
Over 50,000	$381	$0-$1,600
Under 50,000	96	5-250

The papers with smaller circulations use fewer editorial and clerical staff members, the highest being two editorial employees for two papers and three clerical employees for one paper.

Table 3 shows the average (median) number of questions received per week. For the papers with the larger circulations, the data are shown separately by the length of time the column has been running. The numbers in parentheses are the number of papers in each length-of-time category.

Table 3. Average (median) number of questions received per week

Number months running:	Ave. Circl. (000)	Ave. Number Received
Over 50,000:		
50 months or longer (3)	270	195
21-29 months (8)	250	1375*
Less than 21 months (20)	180	455
Under 50,000 (25)	23	114

**After excluding one paper which reported receiving 8,750 questions per week*

No inferences can be made as to whether the number of questions decreases or increases over time. This is because some of the papers supply answers to questions in addition to handling ombudsman-type complaints. The survey report did not specify the individual papers which operated a Q and A service. However, the data for one paper were eliminated from the table because it reported receiving 8,750 questions per week.

Of the 56 papers, 21 run the column on Page 1 and 35 run it inside. Five of the papers, however, introduced the column on Page 1 and later shifted it to an inside page. Few of the larger papers run the column on Page 1, but 56% of the smaller papers run it on Page 1.

The survey asked editors whether or not they expected the column to be running in 1970 and in 1975. Table 4 presents their answers. If the "yes" responses for 1975 are interpreted as a measure of intense satisfaction with the column, it would seem that at least 35% of the editors are enthusiastic.

Table 4. Number of editors who expect the column will be running in 1970 and 1975

	1970	1975
Yes	50	20
Probably	4	4
No or doubtful	1	3
Not certain	1	29
	56	56

The available readership scores for the ombudsman-type column are in the 70s for both men and women when the column is on Page 1. A good many teenagers also read it.

Daily Newsroom Is Getting Larger Share Of Journalism Graduates

A survey by The Newspaper Fund found that the number of degrees granted by schools of journalism increased 28.7% in 1967 over 1965, although the percentage of graduates who went into some form of journalistic work was only 44% as compared with 50% in 1965.

However, a larger percentage have been going into the daily newsroom and into the wire services. For eight selected kinds of journalistic work, the table below shows the increase or decrease between 1965 and 1967; decreases are in parentheses.

	Number in 1967	% Increase/ Decrease 1965-1967
Daily newspapers*	717	56.2
Wire services	64	106.4
TV news	75	(11.7)
Radio	88	19.0
Advertising (nonnewspaper)	340	50.0
Public relations	345	50.6
Magazines	101	(22.3)
Weekly newspapers	75	(21.3)
Total	1805	36.3

**Newsroom is 88.1% of total for daily newspapers*

Of those who received the B.A. or M.A. degree and did not go into some form of journalistic work, 532 (12.8%) did graduate study and 474 (11.6%) went into military service. An unknown percentage of both of these categories are expected to enter journalism at a later time.

Chapter 8

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS OF ITS NEWSPAPERS

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 122-129, and Vol. 2, pp. 106-107.

Racial Fairness in the Newspaper

One study shows that most whites and Negroes think the newspaper is fair in its treatment of different races.

But more Negroes than whites make an unfavorable evaluation of the newspaper in this dimension.

A second study suggests an explanation.

The Indianapolis (Ind.) News last October administered to a probability sample of 500 readers a test to measure the public's attitude toward its newspaper in 12 attitudinal areas. The test was developed several years ago at Stanford University.

One area was racial fairness, which—with religious fairness—has ranked as the most favorable area in all of the many instances in which the test has been used.

The newspaper's sample was large enough to permit valid inferences to be made as to the differences between whites and Negroes. Although we cannot say that the Negro responses are representative of all Negro readers of the News, the differences between the white and Negro responses are large enough to be significant at a high level of statistical confidence. Negroes were 12% of the sample of readers. Nonreaders were not interviewed.

One of the questions was: "Does the News print both sides of issues that involve different races?" The responses were:

	Negro	White	All
Yes, always	17%	23%	22%
Yes, usually	48	61	60
No, not very often	27	10	12
No, almost never	3	3	3
Don't know	5	3	3
	100	100	100

We can look at this data in two ways. One way is to compare the responses of whites and Negroes. A second way is to observe the proportion of each race which is favorable or unfavorable to the newspaper: whereas the ratio of unfavorable white readers is 1 in 6.6 the ratio of unfavorable Negro readers is almost 1 in 3. Nevertheless, two out of three Negroes had a favorable attitude.

Another question was in the area of "representativeness"; that is, the partial or impartial treatment in the newspaper of citizens and segments of society, including those of low social status. The question was: "Do you think the News really cares about the poor people in this town?" The responses were as follows:

	Negro	White	All
Yes, very much	27%	45%	43%
Yes, some	41	41	41
No, not very much	27	8	11
No, not at all	5	3	3
Don't know	—	3	2
	100	100	100

As the table shows, the responses were about the same as for the race question.

Some of the Negroes' responses probably reflect a generalized attitude; that is, they tended to answer all or nearly all attitudinal questions in a favorable or unfavorable frame of reference. This is indicated for Negroes to some extent by their answers to the question, "Does the News seem fair to all religious groups?" The responses, which compare the attitudes of whites and Negroes, were as follows:

	White	Negro	All
Yes, very fair	42%	58%	56%
Yes, pretty fair	47	38	39
No, not very fair	8	2	3
No, not at all fair	3	—	1
Don't know	—	2	2
	100	100	100

A Possible Explanation

There is some indication that, regardless of the fairness and impartiality of the newspaper, some hostility may be projected onto the paper, perceived as an Establishment institution, by those Negroes who are embittered and frustrated.

The Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, on a Ford Foundation grant, commissoned Roper Research Associates to interview 500 Negroes and an equal number of white persons in each of six cities between September, 1966 and April, 1967. Three of the cities had riots in 1966 and the others had not. The cities were Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Dayton, Akron, San Francisco and Boston.

Responses to three of the questions in the six cities combined show a great amount of dissatisfaction by Negroes. The answers are in Table 1.

TABLE 1.

NEGROES' AND WHITES' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION IN THE AREAS OF JOB OPPORTUNITY, RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS, AND HOUSING

Do you feel the growth of job opportunities in (name of city) is going too fast, too slowly, or about right?

	Negroes	Whites
Too fast	1%	14%
Too slowly	60	14
About right	32	53
Depends	2	3
No opinion	5	16
	100	100

Do you feel that racial integration in the (name of city) schools is going too fast, too slowly, or about right?

	Negroes	Whites
Too fast	2%	19%
Too slowly	48	7
About right	37	46
Depends	2	5
No opinion	11	23
	100	100

In another area—that of housing. Do you think efforts to provide opportunities for Negroes to live where they want to live in (name of city) are going too fast, too slowly, or about right?

	Negroes	Whites
Too fast	1%	25%
Too slowly	76	16
About right	19	41
No opinion	4	18
Total	100	100

A fourth question in the study was "Who do you think is more likely to start the racial violence, whites or Negroes?" The responses were as follows:

	Negroes	Whites
Whites	48%	15%
Negroes	9	44
Both	32	33
No opinion	11	9
	100	100

(Roper Research Associates, "What to Do About Riots," The Public Pulse, Oct., 1967)

How Readers Perceive "Unfairness"

Dr. Walter Wilcox, of the University of California at Los Angeles, last year studied the extent to which newspaper readers react to unfair and inaccurate statements as compared with their evaluation of the persons or objects to which the statements refer.

He calls the statement a "situation" and the person, institution or other object an "attitudinal object." For example, when a newspaper says in an editorial that members of a labor union should not be granted a wage increase because it would cause inflation, do readers react more to the situation or to their evaluation of labor unions?

A sample of 240 adults in the West Los Angeles area (who are fairly typical Californians) were asked about 10 situations and 10 objects. To measure reaction to the situations, the respondents checked a six-interval scale of responses ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." For their evaluations of the objects, respondents checked a scale ranging from "highly positive" to "strongly negative."

The situations—some of which are actual and some hypothetical—were as follows:

A newspaper accuses a mayor of a city of poor judgment in granting a garbage removal franchise. The mayor should have the legal right to reply to the attack.

A newspaper columnist reports a rumor that a movie starlet plans to elope to Mexico. She should have the legal right of reply to correct the rumor.

A socially prominent woman entertains a number of couples at dinner and the theater. The newspaper report on the society page lists half the guests but not the other half. She should have the legal right to correct the omission.

A sports columnist writes that the coach of the high school football team should be fired because his plays are old fashioned and his training methods are slipshod. The coach should have the legal right of reply to defend his methods.

The president of a local college is accused in the newspaper of being incompetent because of student demonstrations. He should have the legal right to state his position in a reply.

A teenaged youth is formally charged by the police with possessing marijuana. The newspaper gets the report from the police and prints it. Later, it turns out that a mistake has been made. The youngster, or his parents, should have the legal right to demand a correction.

A newspaper makes a mistake in the rank of an army officer, designating him a non-commissioned officer (sergeant) instead of commissioned officer (captain). The officer should have the legal right to demand a correction.

In an editorial, a newspaper says a labor union should not be granted a pay increase because it would cause inflation. The union should have a legal right to give its position on the matter.

A newspaper prints a letter from a former patient in a hospital who says that the hospital is filthy, that the food is bad and that the attendants are inattentive. The hospital should have the legal right to give its side of the matter.

A newspaper carried a story to the effect that the city-owned bus line is failing to meet schedules, has abandoned routes without notice, and is generally run in an incompetent way. The city disagrees. A spokesman for the city should have the legal right to present the city's side of the question.

The accompanying table shows that the average reaction to the 10 situations is 79% in favor of right of reply, although the overall evaluation of the attitudinal objects was only 48% positive. Dr. Wilcox's interpretation is that readers tend to react more to the situation than to the object.

One way to analyze the table is to observe the differences between the situation and the object percentages. For example, the respondents made a relatively low evaluation of the city-owned bus lines but 90% thought the city should have a legal right of reply.

The study, Dr. Wilcox said, "is inherently 'loaded' against the newspaper inasmuch as it is cast in terms of the rights of the individual rather than the rights of the press. If the questions were framed in another way, the results might have been somewhat different. For instance, the questions might be framed: 'Do you think the press should be compelled by law to print . . .?' This might have elicited a quite different pattern of response."

He also asked for agreement/disagreement on two general statements. (1) "Newspapers usually correct errors if the involved person requests a correction" (Agree 60%, not sure 19%, disagree 21%) and (2) "Newspapers usually give both points of view on controversial issues" (Agree 30%, not sure 9%, disagree 61%).

Some continental European countries have a right of reply law. Nevada for many years has had such a law but the question of its constitutionality has never reached the courts and few Nevada editors, when queried last year, knew there was such a statute.

A law professor recently argued that, since the First Amendment is for the benefit of the public rather than for the press, a right of reply in a newspaper would be on the same constitutional grounds as the "equal time" statute that affects the broadcasting industry (Sec. 315, Federal Communications Act of 1934): "it is open to the courts to fashion a remedy for the right of access, at least in the most arbitrary cases, independently of legislation." (J. B. Barron,

"Access to the Press—A New First Amendment Right," Harvard Law Review, 80:1641, June, 1967).

Per Cent of Positive, Neutral and Negative Responses for the Situation and the Object.

	Pct. Positive	Pct. Neutral	Pct. Negative
Teenager:			
Situation	95	1	4
Object	63	21	16
College President:			
Situation	93	1	6
Object	72	20	8
Mayor:			
Situation	91	2	7
Object	44	22	34
Bus Line:			
Situation	90	4	6
Object	52	26	22
Hospital:			
Situation	90	3	7
Object	66	20	14
Football Coach:			
Situation	80	5	16
Object	48	46	6
Labor union:			
Situation	75	8	18
Object	48	22	30
Army Officer:			
Situation	72	11	18
Object	46	40	15
Movie Starlet			
Situation	69	10	21
Object	15	58	28
Society Matron:			
Situation	34	16	50
Object	29	46	25
Mean%:			
Situation	79	6	15
Object	48	32	20

(Walter Wilcox, "Right of Reply in the United States," Gazette, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1958)

Accuracy and Ethics (British)

More than one-half of the complaints addresed to the British Press Council are rejected.

The leading complainants are local governments, readers and social organizations and movements.

The periodicals most complained of are suburban and provincial newspapers and the popular national dailies.

An important function of the Council is to protect the press against secrecy and censorship.

Several studies have been made of inaccuracies in individual American newspapers, but none has explored in depth the subjective kind of error. This is often a situation in which the reporter or editor and the subject of the news story have a different view of the circumstances.

We now have, however, a report on more than 400 cases in which a complaint has been considered formally by the British Press Council whose membership is comprised of 20 newspaper representatives (publishers, editors and newsmen), five lay members chosen by the newspaper representatives and the lay chairman (currently Lord Devlin).

H. Phillip Levy, a barrister who heads the legal department of the London Daily Mirror, has just published a history of the Council in which he describes all of the cases for the first thirteen and one-half years of the Council's existence. Because of the similarities of the two cultures, the report should be of interest to American newspapermen.

The Council was established in 1953 and was reconstituted in 1963. It probably would not have come into existence had not the alternative been the establishment of a somewhat similar body by Parliamentary legislation on which there could have been a different representation of the press and one which could have imposed sanctions inconsistent with freedom of the press.

The Council's constitution does not provide for sanctions. Its adjudications are published in annual reports which may be purchased by members of the public. When a periodical is reprimanded it is morally bound to publish a statement; in only two cases has this not been done since 1961.

Adjudicating complaints is only one of the Council's functions. It also intervenes to prevent secrecy in government and censorship in much the same way that the Freedom of Information Committees of American newspaper societies operate. It considers itself a guardian of the press as well as a court of honor.

How Many Complaints Are Justified?

Table 1 shows the proportion of complaints that have been upheld and rejected and the kind of complaint. The table includes complaints that relate to the ethics of the press as well as the alleged inaccuracies.

As the table indicates, there has been an average of about 30 complaints a year. Any person or organization may complain whether or not they have a direct interest. No complaint is accepted until after the complainant has asked the newspaper for redress and has not been satisfied. A special committee of the Council screens out the most frivolous complaints.

TABLE 1.

PERCENTAGE OF COMPLAINTS UPHELD AND REJECTED

Kind of complaint:	No. of Cases	Upheld	Rejected
Confidential occasions	4	0.0%	100.0%
Confidential documents	12	17.7	83.3
Eavesdropping	3	100.0	0.0
Embargoes*	5	60.0	40.0
Fair comment	26	19.0	73.0
Misreporting, misrepresenting	94	39.3	50.0
Sensationalism, distorton	11	63.6	36.3
Letters to the editor**	49	34.7	61.2
Corrections, apologies	33	54.5	36.4
Taste	26	34.6	61.5
Intrusion, privacy	35	40.0	57.1
Reporting court proceedings	12	83.3	8.3
Persons who should not be named***	21	61.9	33.3
Conduct of the journalist	12	41.7	50.0
Reporting crime	3	33.3	33.3
Treatment of sex	4	25.0	75.0
Reporting the schools	10	80.0	20.0
Hospitals, doctors	14	50.0	28.5
Politics, political parties	11	36.3	63.6
Advertisers, advertisements	24	45.9	50.0
Total	409	42.8	50.6

*Complaints by other newspapers
**Refusal to publish and treatment of
***Both juveniles and adults

NOTE—When the percentages in the rows do not total 100% it is because some of the decisions (6.6% of the total) were noncommittal; meaning that the decision did not equate with either censure or rejection.

The table shows that more complaints were rejected than were upheld. Some decisions (6.6%) could be considered as noncommittal.

There appear to be about five situations in which the Council has tended to uphold a complaint. One is "sensationalism and distortion," a fault that has virtually disappeared from the American press. The others relate to the identification of persons and to the reporting of schools, courts, and hospitals and doctors. With reference to the latter, the Council in 1956 negotiated an agreement between the press, on the one hand, and the medical profession and hospital administrators, on the other hand, which resembles the agreements made in several communities and states in this country. The Council has devoted a considerable effort on behalf of the press in instances in which doctors and hospitals have failed to comply with the agreement.

Who Should Be Named?

Of the 21 cases in which complaint was made about the identification of persons, one-third were rejected (a few decisions were noncommittal in that the Council held that

the decision should be a matter for editorial judgment). Here are some of the situations which the Council rejected:

Identification of a member of Parliament as a relative of a man accused at a court-martial. The defending officer had publicly referred to the accused's background.

Identification of the wife of a man accused of shooting at a bank official after the wife had testified in open court.

In connection with a trial in Germany, names and addresses were published of two Englishmen who had answered "lonely hearts" ads.

Identification of the purchaser at an auction of a house in connection with which the purchaser wanted anonymity.

Publication of a photograph of the father of a Briton charged with spying for a foreign power. Justification: enormity of the charge.

In the following instances, the Council upheld the complaint:

Publishing a photograph of a reformed criminal.

Disclosure of the place of employment of an accused man given a probationary sentence after a former employer had offered to re-employ him.

Identification of a young woman who had befriended a criminal after the judge had refrained from identification.

Identification of a female victim of an indecent assault.

Identification of a female victim of rape.

A mother of six children who had an affair with a young man who committed suicide was interviewed after both she and the coroner had requested that her name not be used.

Identification by name and address of the parents and sister (who had two school-age children) of a man convicted of murder.

Identification of a female relative of a man charged with indecency.

Identification of a convicted murderer's wife who had adopted another name and had moved to a different community.

Reproduction of a marriage certificate of a man sentenced as a spy which identified by name and address his wife and her father.

Publication of a picture of the daughter of the man who had shot at the South African prime minister and who had committed suicide, and disclosure of her coming marriage and the name of the future bridegroom.

Who Were the Complainants?

Table 2 classifies the complainants. Identification of the complainant was not made in about one-fifth of the cases.

As the table shows, more than one out of eight complaints were from an officer or board member of a local government—town, borough, county or urban district authority.

TABLE 2.
WHO WERE THE COMPLAINANTS?

		Number
Local gov'ts, officers		56
A reader		44
Social organizations, movements		26
Political parties, candidates		19
Relatives of persons in the news		19
Parents	12	
Other relatives	7	

	Number
Trade assns., chambers of commerce	18
Individual complainants	18
Business firms, business men	16
The clergy	14
University dons, students	14
School administrators, boards	13
Solicitors on behalf of clients	12
Labor unions	10
Doctors, dentists	9
Sports assns.	9
National gov't, MPs	7
Hospitals	6
The judiciary	6
Authors, critics	5
Foreign gov'ts (African)	4
Royal family	4
Others	80

About one out of six complaints were from "A Reader," often a person who had no direct interest but who thought that the decision would have been different if he or she had been the editor.

About one out of 12 complaints were from various social organizations and movements (four were from Earl Russell and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation).

Only one out of 16 complaints were from a political party or candidate. Of the 19 complaints, however, nine were from the Labour (Socialist) Party many of whose members twenty years ago had an authoritarian attitude toward the press.

Complaint About Which Periodicals?

Table 3 lists the periodicals complained about. Four per cent were magazines and trade journals.

TABLE 3.

PERCENTAGE OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST SEVEN KINDS OF PERIODICALS

National dailies: quality	8%
National dailies: popular	29
London evening	4
Suburban, provincial, Scottish	32
National Sunday: quality	7
National Sunday: popular	16
Magazines, trade journals	4

The largest number of complaints concerned provincial and suburban papers. Next were the popular national dailies and third were the popular Sunday papers. Almost one-half (45%) of the complaints were about the so-called popular newspapers (daily and Sunday) which have a larger audience for sensational news than exists in this country because of the statutory school-leaving age of 15 years.

(H. Phillip Levy, The Press Council: History, Procedure and Cases. 1967)

Chapter 9

MISCELLANEOUS

The Polls' Sampling Error

Sampling error is the variability due to chance. Thus, when the sample is about 1,400 and the preference for Candidate A is 52%, the pollster knows that, if he were to take 100 polls, in 68 of the polls his finding could vary by as much as ± 1.34%. That is, it could be within a range of 53.34% and 50.66% (52 + 1.34 and 52 — 1.34).

If his criterion were 95 times in 100 on the same sample size, the sampling error could be about twice as large, viz., ± 2.54.

Adequate Sample Size

The pollsters' samples recently have been about 1,400 respondents. The pollsters could reduce the sampling error by one-half by increasing the sample size four-fold (i.e., to 5,600). They could reduce the sampling error by two-thirds by increasing the sample size nine-fold (i.e., to 12,600).

This is because **the sampling error diminishes as the square root of the sample increases.**

This fact explains why professional pollsters assume that the sample size they use is large enough: very little reduction in sampling error results from having a larger sample.

Why Isn't the Sampling Error Reported?

There are practical reasons why the professional pollsters do not report the sampling error in every release: the statistical concept would not be comprehended by many readers, an explanation would require too much space and, in successive releases, would be repetitive. The sampling error is usually reported for marketing and audience studies because space is not a consideration and it is assumed that the readers of the report understand its meaning.

A Sample Large Enough for What?

A sample of 1,400 is large enough to estimate, within the limits mentioned above, the national **popular vote** preference at a given time when two candidates are running. But it is not large enough to estimate, with the same precision, many breakdowns of the total, such as the voting preferences of Negro females between the ages of 30 and 39.

Nor the preferences of voters in the 50 individual states. To estimate with the same precision the vote in each state, each of the 50 subsamples would need to be about as large as the sample for the whole nation. Since this would be prohibitively expensive the pollsters report only the national popular vote estimates and the breakdowns for regions, sexes and age groups.

See also, "Some Guidelines for Reporting Opinion and Election Polls, in Volume 3 of *News Research for Better Newspapers*, pp. 85-90.

How the Error is Computed

The technical name for sampling error as used in polls is the "standard error of a percentage." It is defined as the square root of
the product of the percentage for Candidate A (52%) and 100%-52% divided by the size of the sample.
In the nomenclature of statistics, the formula is written as

$$\sqrt{\frac{p \times q}{N}}$$

in which p is 52 and
q is 100-52 and
N is the size of the sample.

Thus, when the sample is 1,400 the computation is as follows:

$$\sqrt{\frac{52 \times 48}{1400}} = \sqrt{1.78} = \pm 1.34\%$$

This means that the obtained percentage (52%), subject to the standard error, could occur by chance 68 times in 100. But if we multiply the standard error by 1.96, making it ± 2.54, the obtained percentage, subject to the larger error, could occur by chance only five times in 100.

Technique of the Interview

Webb and Salancik, in a "Journalism Monograph" (1966), reviewed and evaluated all of the available research literature on methods of interviewing. The following passages report the research that relates to the verbal behavior of the interviewer and the duration of the question and the answer:

Verbal feedback has often been studied by social scientists for its influence on respondents. "Reinforcers" are the grunts, "mm-hmmms," "goods," and other brief utterances of the interviewer. Any experienced interviewer knows that they work to produce something, and social science research has been concerned with estimating the character and magnitude of bias that these extraneous comments produce. . . .

The majority of the studies showed that smiling, leaning forward, nodding the head, and saying "mm-hmmm" or "good" significantly influenced what the respondent said. . . .

Hildum and Brown (1965) found that some reinforcers are more effective than others. Working over the telephone, they found that "good" biased results, while "mm-hmmm" did not. As the reporter gains in experience, he may learn what techniques work for him, and under what conditions they work.

The Effect of "Mm-hmmms"

For the interviewer who wants to get his source to say more, it might be instructive to look at studies on the length of answers. Matarazzo (1963) measured what effect saying "mm-hmmm" had on the length of respondents' replies, when the length and subject matter of questions were constant.

An interview was divided into three segments. In the first and third segments, the interviewer gave no "mm-hmmms;" in the middle segment he did. The results for two different interviewers:

	Question Duration		Response Duration
Interviewer 1	5.1 seconds		36.8 seconds
	5.2 seconds	(Mm-hmmm)	48.3 seconds
	5.3 seconds		39.1 seconds
Interviewer 2	5.4 seconds		31.7 seconds
	5.6 seconds	(Mm-hmmm)	58.3 seconds
	5.4 seconds		28.6 seconds

Clearly the mumbling of "mm-hmmm" has an effect. Matarazzo's concern for keeping the duration of the question constant was based on other research (Matarazzo et al., 1963). He had found that varying the duration of the question varies the duration of the response. If one wants to get a long response, one should ask long questions.

Kennedy Press Conferences

Checking on this phenomenon in a journalistic setting, Ray and Webb (1966) studied transcripts of Kennedy press conferences and compared the length of reporters' questions to the length of President Kennedy's answers in 61 press conferences. Although one would not have expected an

articulate and well-prepared president to be influenced markedly by question length, the results support Matarazzo's laboratory findings. As an illustration, here are the results of the conference of April 24, 1963:

	Reporters' Questions	President's Answers
1st Third of Conference	4.8 lines	14.2 lines
2nd Third of Conference	7.6 lines	23.2 lines
3rd Third of Conference	5.5 lines	16.1 lines

Ray and Webb expected that a more experienced president would be less affected by extraneous factors such as question duration. However, they found no real difference in the effect of question duration over the three years of President Kennedy's press conferences. . . .

Alderman (1965) asked journalism students to write reactions to **statements** about advertising. By varying the word count of these statements, but holding content constant, he learned that long statements get long written replies and short statements get short replies. Moreover, students replying to the longer statements gave more reasons to support their evaluations. Thus, at least in this situation, one is getting not just longer answers, but more information.

Moving out of his laboratory, Matarazzo and his colleagues (1964) imaginatively employed data provided by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—tape recordings of communications between astronauts and ground control. Tapes and transcripts from two separate orbital flights were analyzed in a fashion similar to methods employed in the earlier laboratory research. It was found that "without exception, a relationship appears between mean speech duration of the ground communicator and the corresponding mean duration of speech of the astronaut."

Other variables may be at work. There may be a subject matter contamination such that a more involved question from the reporter or ground communicator requires a more involved reply. To the degree that complexity is associated with duration there can be uncontrolled variance. This hypothesis does not explain, however, the experimental laboratory findings of Matarazzo or Alderman.

Eternal truths are as hard to find here as anywhere, but it does seem reasonable that the use of grunts, nods, head leanings and smiles, and the duration of questions may influence response. Most writers view these influences as invidious. For us, they may be effective ways to keep a respondent talking. These tactics probably work by suggesting to the respondent that the interviewer is sympathetic or understanding.

Non word cues in general may help the respondent to define what type of person the interviewer is and what he sees as important. If the interviewer can effectively exploit the elements which create these ideas within the source, a bias is transmuted into an asset.
(Eugene J. Webb and Jerry R. Salancik, The Interview or The Only Wheel in Town. Journalism Monograph No. 2, Sept., 1966.)

H. S. Journalism, Civics Courses Fail to Teach Citizenship

A Colorado study reports only very slight differences in attitudes toward government control of the mass media by students who had and those who had not taken a course in high school journalism.

The national Purdue Opinion Poll of high school students tested those who had and those who had not taken a civics course and found no differences as to their attitudes toward civil liberties.

A 1965 University of Michigan study interviewed a national sample of high school students who had and had not taken civics courses and found no overall differences in political knowledge and seven other dimensions of "political socialization."

Explanation: Most of the course content is redundant in that it is a duplication of knowledge and cues previously learned from the mass media, parents and other sources.

However, there were differences as to lower-class Negro students because the course content was not redundant for them.

Hickey and Brinton, in May, 1967, surveyed 603 students in 14 Colorado high schools in communities in which a daily newspaper was published. Among the 39 questions were five which asked about control of the mass media by government.

Almost one-half of the students were enrolled in a journalism class and the others were not. The researchers did not inquire as to the content of the journalism courses.

Table 1 compares the responses of the journalism and nonjournalism students. The differences between students enrolled in journalism courses and those not enrolled is barely significant statistically with reference to control of false statements in advertisements and obscene words and pictures; the journalism students were somewhat more authoritarian than were the other students. For the other questions the differences could be due to chance.

TABLE 1.

Question: "To what degree do you believe local, state or federal government should control the mass communications media with regard to (a) false statements in advertising, (b) obscene words and pictures, (c) statements promoting

communism, (d) evidence preceding a criminal trial, (e) derogatory statements about people?"

	In Journalism Class	Not in Journalism Class
False statements in adv.:		
Rigidly control	82%	75%
Use only some control	16	19
Should not control at all	2	4
Obscene words, pictures:		
Rigidly control	62	50
Use only some control	30	34
Should not control at all	8	4
Statements promoting communism:		
Rigidly control	59	60
Use only some control	26	25
Should not control at all	15	13
Evidence preceding a criminal trial:		
Rigidly control	44	43
Use only some control	45	39
Should not control at all	10	15
Derogatory statements about people:		
Rigidly control	48	43
Use only some control	42	38
Should not control at all	9	16

The Purdue Opinion Poll

For 15 years in the 1940s and 1950s, Dr. H. H. Remmers and his associates at Purdue University conducted opinion polls of thousands of high school students on a stratified national sample. The responses to six questions (of which five related to the Bill of Rights), shown in Table 2, compare students who had taken a civics course with students who had not. The differences overall are quite small and could be due to chance.

TABLE 2.
SOME RESPONSES TO THE PURDUE OPINION POLL

	Had Civics Course	Did Not Have Civics Course
Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.		
Agree	44%	48%
Disagree	49	38
Uncertain	7	14
The government should prohibit some people from making speeches.		
Agree	35	30
Disagree	54	59
Uncertain	11	11
Certain groups should not be allowed to hold public meetings even though they gather peaceably and only make speeches.		
Agree	26	22
Disagree	61	66
Uncertain	13	12

	Had Civics Course	Did Not Have Civics Course
Some of the petitions which have been circulated should not be allowed by the government.		
Agree	35	30
Disagree	44	42
Uncertain	21	28
Persons who refuse to testify against themselves should either be made to talk or be severely punished.		
Agree	28	30
Disagree	59	52
Uncertain	13	18
All banks and credit should be run by the government.		
Agree	27	21
Disagree	66	66
Uncertain	7	13

The Hickey-Brinton and the Remmers data seem to show that many students of these ages have what behavioral scientists call "unstructured" attitudes: they hadn't really considered the questions until they were asked in a survey. The differences between responses of ninth and twelfth-graders to the questions are so small as to be barely significant statistically.

The data suggest that the effect of taking or not taking a course in journalism or civics is nil with respect to this kind of training for citizenship.

This was the same conclusion reached by two scholars who recently completed a large-scale study of the effect of civics courses on the "political socialization" of students.

The Michigan Study of Civics Courses

In the spring of 1965, the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, on behalf of Professors Langton and Jennings, interviewed a national probability sample of 1669 high school seniors in 97 secondary schools. Two-thirds of the seniors had taken one or more courses in civics.

Most educators have agreed that the objectives and desired effects of the civics courses are these: (1) to increase the student's knowledge about political institutions and process, (2) to make the student a more interested and loyal citizen, (3) to increase his understanding of his own rights and the civil rights of others and (4) to generate active political participation.

Questions in the Michigan study related to eight variables, as follows:

1. Political knowledge and sophistication (six questions).
2. Political interest (". . . Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?").
3. Spectator politicization. Students were asked how often they read about public affairs in newspapers or magazines and

how often they watched any programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television.

4. Political discourse. ("Do you talk about public affairs and politics with your friends outside of classes?" (If yes), "How often would you say that is?").

5. Political efficacy. Two questions to measure the student's belief that one can affect political outcomes.

6. Political cynicism. Antithetical to political efficacy (a scale of six questions).

7. Civic tolerance (a scale of three questions).

8. Participative orientation. The extent to which students answered an open-end question to include participation (". . . What things about a person are most important in showing that he is a good citizen?").

The detailed findings are not presented here because they are reported in "beta coefficients of correlation." However, the authors state:

An overview of the results offers strikingly little support for the impact of the curriculum . . . The magnitude of the relationship [between taking and not taking one or more civics courses] are extremely weak, in most cases bordering on the trivial . . .

"The increments are so miniscule as to raise serious questions about the utility of investing in government courses as they are presently constituted. . . . Until such changes [in goals, course content, teacher training, etc.] come about, one must continue to expect little contribution from the formal civics curriculum in the political socialization of American pre-adults."

The explanation: Most of the content is *redundant* in that it is a duplication of knowledge and cues previously learned from the mass media, parents, and other sources.

The Negro Subsample

An exception to the findings for the whole sample were the findings of the Negro subsample (about 11% of the whole sample). About the same proportion of whites and Negroes had taken civics courses. Whereas for whites, the effect on political knowledge of taking or not taking civics courses was a coefficient of .08, for Negroes it was .38.

The authors say: "The civics curriculum is an important source of political knowledge for Negroes and . . . appears in some cases to substitute for political information gathering [obtaining] in the media . . .

"The clear inference as to why Negro students' responses are 'improved' by taking the courses is that new information is being added where relatively less existed before. White students enrolled in the courses appear to receive nothing beyond that to which their non-enrolled cohorts are being exposed [but] from their relatively lower start the Negro students' knowledge can be increased by exposure to the civics curriculum."

As Negroes from less educated families take more

civics courses their political interest and frequency of political discussion with their peers (and their tolerance) increases.

However, for higher status Negroes, "the more courses they take the less likely are they to seek political information in newspapers, magazines and television . . . There is also a decrease in their political interest and propensity to discuss politics with their friends."

As to civic loyalty, 61% of the Negro responses focus on civic loyalty rather than participation as compared with 41% of whites who perceive the "good citizen" role as being one of loyalty rather than political participation.

(J. R. Hickey and J. E. Brinton, Media Habits and Attitudes Toward Media of Colorado High School Students, an investigation for Quill & Scroll Journalism Studies, 1967; H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager, 1957; K. P. Langton and M. K. Jennings, Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States, unpublished MS., May. 1967).

Criminal Arrests by Age

Two reports of The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice analyzed arrests by age.

Table 1 shows the percentage of arrests for various kinds of crimes in 1965.

TABLE 1.

Per Cent of Arrests Accounted for by Different Age Groups—1965.

	11-17	18-24	Over 25
Population	13.2%	10.2%	53.5%
Willful homicide	8.4	26.4	65.3
Forcible rape	19.8	44.3	35.6
Robbery	28.0	39.5	31.4
Aggravated assault	14.2	26.5	58.7
Burglary	47.7	29.0	19.7
Larceny (incl. under $50)	49.2	21.9	24.3
Motor vehicle theft	61.4	26.4	11.9
Willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault	18.3	31.7	49.3
Burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft	50.5	24.7	21.2

Table 2 shows the number of 1960 arrests per 100,000 of population by age, sex, and race for central cities and for places outside the central cities.

TABLE 2.

Estimated 1960 Arrests for Crime Per 100,000 Population.

	Central Cities	Outside Central Cities	Average
Under 14	333	130	189
14-19	3085	1770	2160
20-24	1403	1143	1236
25-34	801	430	554
35-44	439	220	291
45 and over	131	72	93
Male	1178	692	846
Female	135	54	81
White	437	270	320
Nonwhite	2356	438	1434
Average	635	370	456

(The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, 1967 and Task Force Report: Crime and Its Impact—An Assessment, 1967)

"Credibility Gap," 1943

The National Opinion Research Center, on behalf of the Office of War Information in early February, 1943, interviewed a national sample of 3,536 adults about their satisfaction with the war information they were getting.

By that time, American troops had conquered the Japanese on Guadalcanal and were waging a successful war in North Africa.

In response to the question, "Do you think the Government is giving the public as much information as it should about the fighting in this war?", 74% answered "yes." When the same question had been asked two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 69% had said "yes."

The following question was also asked in February, 1942 and February, 1943: "Do you think the war news the Government does release is accurate, or that it makes the situation look better than it is, or makes it look worse than it really is?" The responses were as follows:

	1942	1943
Is accurate	39%	47%
Makes situation look better	36	35
Makes situation look worse	12	4
Don't know	13	14

A third question asked in February, 1943 was: "Have there been any particular times when you wanted more news than was actually given out about something that happened in the war?" Forty per cent answered "yes." Those persons then were asked: "Why do you suppose more information wasn't given out about it at that time?" The asserted reasons are shown in the table below:

	By those who said "yes"	By all respondents
Need for secrecy as protection against the enemy	62%	24%
Possible bad effect on public morale	11	4
Hushing up, covering up bad news and mistakes	7	3
Information wasn't available	6	2
Miscellaneous reasons	2	1
Don't know	14	6
	102	40

(National Opinion Research Center, "The People Appraise Their War Information," Special Memo. No. 45. March 26, 1943)